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T H E U N I V E R S I T Y O F A L B E R T A

INIPI KAGAPI:

COGNITIVE SYMBOLIC INTERPRETATION OF THE DAKOTA SWEATLODGE CEREMONY

BY

CLIFFORD GEORGE POMPANA ©

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL, 1995

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ISBN 0-612-06370-4

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Degree: Master of Arts in Anthropology

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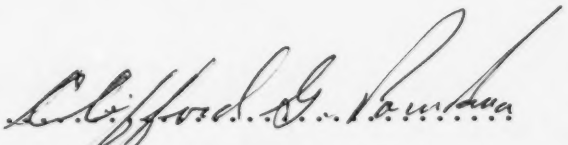

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled Inipi Kaga Pi: Cognitive Symbolic Interpretation of the Dakota Sweat Lodge Ceremony submitted by Clifford Pompana in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is to provide an explanation of the 'inipi'(sweat lodge) ceremony. The thesis points out similarities between Western and Dakota eidos and ethos as these pertain to healing.

The thesis suggests a Western - Dakota synthesis would be a more effective way of healing for all peoples. My argument is that a basic level of cross-cultural understanding may be achieved by the Elders insistence on illumination through awareness. This can only be achieved through becoming aware of both ways of healing.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank, first of all, Wakan Tanka, and secondly, all the spirit peoples that appeared in my dreams and visions to provide direction, guidance, knowledge, and wisdom.

I would like to thank David E. Young, Stan Wilson, and C. Roderick Wilson for their encouragement, support, and patience. Dr. Young continued to retain a strong interest in my progress and provided an extensive commentary both at the level of personal understanding and professional academia. To Dr. Stan Wilson, who provided thoughtful insights and a place for psychological comfort during difficult moments, a very special thanks. To Dr. Rod Wilson, who was always there when needed, my deepest appreciation. Special thanks to Dr. Gregory Forth for the time he spent reading the thesis and chairing the committee meeting.

I would also like to thank all the members of our Tiyospaye (our huge extended family) in Edmonton, who offered support and a continued strong interest in my academic progress, especially to my father, George Pompana, my wife, Joanne Grumley, and my children, Clifford Jr. and Cecilia. Also of tremendous assistance in typing, correcting and still more correcting during the process of completing this thesis, thanks to Rose and Rick Reilly, Wayne Gorman and family. Phil McGeough and family were indispensable in providing unlimited

access to their computer system.

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Prologue

This thesis originated in my frustration at the lack of adequate indigenous concepts relating to Aboriginal psychology and healing methods. I was seeking more realistic interpretations of Aboriginal healing than the clinical and/or experimental descriptions produced by Western scholars.

It is my contention that Aboriginal people, like all people, base their actions on some purpose which is not only intentional (Searle 1983:1) but spiritual in nature. It is this "spiritual intention" that must be taken into consideration in any attempt to address Aboriginal psychology. This, I found, was lacking in the literature on Aboriginal psychology, culture, and healing.

Thus the aim of this thesis is, in the words of Mark Dockstator (1993:1), "to understand, translate, and present the Aboriginal perspective in such a way that it becomes an integral component " of current Anthropological scholarship.

CHAPTER ONE

The Situation and the Approach

Introduction

Throughout Aboriginal North America there is a resurgence of various forms of self-determination. For example, a quiet but powerful revitalization movement is occurring in the area of healing practices. Aboriginal people are slowly working towards integration of Western biomedical and traditional indigenous healing practices that are being applied to the Aboriginal health care at the community level. Many health care centres are now utilizing an approach which is proving to be more efficacious to those Aboriginals hospitalized far from their community and family support systems. Smythe (1994:66) writes that

> Many hospitals now have an intercultural approach, which includes Native healers as part of their staff. These healers utilize medical doctors, nurses, and other health care workers as well as as counselling, herbs, smudging and other tools to achieve their purpose - healing.

This intercultural approach follows on the advice of influential nineteenth century leaders such as the Assiniboine\Cree Chief Poundmaker and Lakota (Sioux) Chief Sitting Bull. Ed Bellerose, a Cree Elder from Edmonton, Alberta, urges that Aboriginal people be aware of what Poundmaker passed on to us. He points out and emphasizesPoundmaker's statement that "Aboriginal people must not sit by the road watching progress passing by but

must step onto the path and join it" (personal communication 1984). In a similar view, Eli Taylor, a Dakota Elder from Sioux Valley, Manitoba, suggests the importance of Sitting Bull's admonition that "the Dakota must take the best of the white people's knowledge and integrate this with the best of Dakota culture" (personal communication 1987). Doing this will ensure a better person and thus a better people. In line with these ideas, the intent of this thesis is to provide an interpretation about knowledge relating to an alternative healing methodology which may be used in cooperation with Western biomedicine.

This thesis does not dispute the value of Western biomedical traditions. Rather the thesis will offer an in-depth elucidation of what has become "the" pan-Aboriginal healing methodology. The thesis will provide an interpretation of the Dakota inipi (or sweatbath) ceremony with special emphasis on immune system activation or enhancement. This renewing, regenerating, and rejuvenating ceremony is commonly known as "the sweat lodge ceremony". The aim is to look at the inipi ceremony in a way that will give it the appropriate holistic meaning that is generally lacking in the scholarly literature on the inipi.

I see two main reasons for this lack of adequate scholarship. The first is that there are few Aboriginal

people who have the academic credentials in terms of post-graduate studies. There are many Aboriginals who have various baccalaureate degrees, but few have pursued advanced studies at the Master's or Doctoral levels. For example, to date there are only 15 graduates from various Doctoral programs in Canada (Gauthier, 1995).

The second reason is that practically all the biomedical scholarship pertaining to Aboriginal healing is from a non-Aboriginal perspective and tends to trivialize and obscure very complex and elaborate techniques and methods. These oversimplified texts often confuse Aboriginal students rather than enlighten them. In this context Smythe (1994:68) writes that Western biomedical practitioners tend

> to label anything and everything. When labels are used in interpreting Native cultural practices, as in applying labels to healing, this causes confusion amongst Native people. They do not comprehend the labeled interpretations of their culture which the Western biomedical community hands back to them.

Aboriginal people do not comprehend these labelling processes because tribal peoples develop their own forms of logic. Claude Levi-Strauss (1969:91) writes of the idea of an Archaic Illusion in which the thesis of a so called "primitive mentality" is pursued to the point of overzealousness. He points out that it is interesting to see psychologists, such as Piaget, for example, who go to great lengths to formulate fundamental research strategy based on

this thesis. Anthropologists have pointed out that Aboriginal logic in their own right are just as complex, rigorous, and sophisticated as modern science. Krippner and Welch (1992:16) write that "it is not the quality of the intellectual process [the logic] that differs" so much as the way experiences are "labelled" and "applied". All Aboriginal people, through centuries of adaptive processes, developed their own form of logic about illness, sickness, disease, and healing that included everything tangible and intangible in their world and universe. It is based on a holistic and cyclic conceptual framework.

In order for Western society to understand this form of logic, it must be expressed by Aboriginal people from their own perspectives. The Aboriginal people's collective cultural traditions emerge out of the logic of their eidos (thoughtways) which in turn design their ethos (lifeways). Fundamental knowledge of the in-depth Aboriginal philosophies are essential in any attempt to interpret indigenous eidos and ethos. However, attempting to generalize aboriginal eidos is troublesome. Trimble and Medicine (1993:134) suggest that "this is because of the rich diversity of Aboriginal cultures throughout the whole of the new world". They suggest that the best that can be done is to develop a method that will enhance this rich cultural diversity of Aboriginal peoples rather than

trivializing it by attempting to find least common denominators.

Aboriginal cultural extinction began when indigenous forms of knowledge were pushed aside and/or trampled by the rush of Western scientific and Christian theological perspectives. Western ideas of systematic objective observations, creating models based on those observations, repeatability, and predictability constitute the scientific approach most often utilized in anthropology. Although terminology specific to anthropology is adhered to, the basic scientific method remains predominant in much of contemporary anthropology. This method provides an approach suitable to answering questions that are peculiar and specific to western anthropology. However, George Hobson (1992:2) suggests that these types of research enterprises encourage the tendency

> to reject the traditional knowledge of [Aboriginal] peoples as anecdotal, non-quantitative, without method, and unscientific. From our ivory towers we tend to ignore basic knowledge that is available to us.

Joseph Epes Brown (1992:9) in a similar context, states that traditional Aboriginal knowledge about spirituality has been cast in the inappropriate mold of Western religious conceptualizations.

> So much interpretation of Native American spirituality has regrettably been forced into preconceived molds of Western, especially Christian theological, perspectives. Certain [Aboriginal] writings have also

> contributed to misunderstandings due to the fact that they were extensively edited by non-Indians. The result has often been an oversimplification of very complex and subtle realities.

This oversimplification has had a tendency to romanticize very sophisticated indigenous healing knowledge to such an extent that they become trivialized.

Martha Johnson (1992:3-5) points out that while "Western scientists stress the use of quantitative measures" the indigenous people (in her case study - the Dene) "are more concerned with qualitative information that can be utilized for survival purposes." Johnson further suggests that this traditional knowledge

> consists of a spiritually based moral code or ethic that governs the interaction between the human, natural and spiritual worlds [They] view the earth as a living organism. All life forms have kinship and are interdependent.

I call this spiritually based moral code "native ethics" after Ross (1992).

The teachings to which I have been exposed state that the whole of the universe is interdependent and interrelated. The idea that is most predominant throughout most of Aboriginal North America, I was taught, is the maintenance of self-balance in order to sustain a harmonious relationship between people, places, the environment, and spirit. This was accomplished by utilizing the traditions as guidelines to the practise of ethical principles. The Elders

point out that the survival of the tribe was relatively more significant than the individual to the extent that the individual's problems were the group's problems. Thus the maintenance of this interrelatedness of all aspects of the Aboriginal universe is important and the primary base from which Aboriginal eidos and ethos as they pertain to illness and healing emerge.

Anthropologists have collected and interpreted a variety of data on indigenous concepts of illness and healing systems for decades. Although illness, disease, sickness and injuries are "universal experiences each sociocultural group implicitly or explicitly classifies them as to cause and cure" (Krippner and Welch 1992:15). These classifications are then transmitted down generationally by the Elders or by those who have developed and established an expertise in healing methods and techniques. Dakota people, for example, developed interpretations of cause, effect and cure specific to the Dakota. From these interpretations they established techniques of healing which are "spiritual" in nature.

Pamela Colorado (1990:20-27) suggests that this type of spiritual healing knowledge (as well as other methods and techniques specific to Aboriginal people) may be termed "indigenous science" or "Native science". She relates indigenous science to the Latin "sciens/scientia which means

'to know' in the largest sense". She further states

> [Aboriginal] science is a way of bringing people to a higher knowledge, and one of its goals is to bring us to the Gii Lai "the still quiet place". In other words our religion and spirituality are built into it. Another thing that can be said is that Native scientists, through their rituals and songs, etc. are working all the time with energies - the energies of the earth - in a way which is just as precise as the way Western scientists work.

Comparing Western scientific knowledge with Dakota science of healing and curing will generate knowledge that will prove to be useful to all healing practices in general. Dakota healing methods and techniques have proven to be sound and efficacious over the centuries.

The Emic/Etic Concept

Aboriginal people emphasize the importance of retaining a point of view that is their own. Many anthropologists see value in this emphasis and work toward maintaining "cultural relativism as part of their anthropological perspective" (Chambers 1985:3). Their belief is that cultures should be understood in terms of their own eidos and ethos and their own unique cultural integrity should be kept intact.

Anthropologists have developed the emic concept to retain the "insider" view of what it is that is going on inside the culture under study. Marvin Harris (1968: 571) defines emic statements as referring to the

> logico - empirical systems whose phenomenal

> distinctions or `things' are built up out of constraints and discriminations significant, meaningful, real, accurate, or in some other fashion regarded as appropriate by the actors themselves.

David Matsumoto (1994:5), a cross-cultural psychologist, has given a definition from a slightly different angle. He defines an emic as "something we know about human behaviour which ... is culture specific" and is regarded as a truth by members of that culture, and may not necessarily be regarded as a truth by "someone from another culture" (a Western oriented scientist such as an anthropologist, for example). He suggests that these two views of truth are "quite different" because "truth is relative" and not necessarily "absolute".

For example, some Dakota healing methods are "culture-specific". These methods are specific and appropriate to the Dakota in general but appear to be different across Aboriginal cultures. The idea of "piercing" at a Dakota Sundance is at the core of the ceremony . However piercing is not done at Cree or Saulteaux (Plains Ojibway) Sundances. This kind of culture-specific difference may easily be described by an outsider (the etic view) but can only be given meaning by an insider (the emic view) who has attained in one way or another some of the traditional indigenous knowledge and thereby the appropriate view that only the actors themselves can express as a <u>cultural truth</u>.

Young and Goulet (1994) are editors of a book in which outsiders (anthropologists) have involved themselves in the practices of various indigenous peoples. These anthropologists were able to move into an insider"s perspective by participating in the ceremonies and thereby expierenced something that to them was extraordinary. They termed these appropriately as "extraordinary experiences" or experiences that were beyond the pale of "ordinary" experiences. These extraordinary experiences not only changed them but by experiencing what the indigenous people were experiencing they were able to attain a more in-depth and thereby a better understanding of what the indigenous people were really talking about. The anthropologists were in turn able to write about the ceremonies they attended and participated in from an etic view but were able to couch the usually harsh etic analysis with the newly acquired insider's perspective. In Matsumoto's sense of emics they saw truth from another angle and in Harris's sense they saw the view that the actors themselves saw. They had become actors within the cultural ceremonies in the same way as the natives. This culture specific view is called the emic perspective. Of relevence to the emic perspective is the coherence view of the philosophy of science.

The Coherence View

In the coherence view, all elements from inside the culture, society, etc. present a coherence of elements. Further, all the points of view of all these elements are important, useful, and effective. According to Hilary Putnam (1981:50) the coherence view may also be called the internalists view. He states that

> many internalists hold that there is more than one true theory or description of the world. Truth...is some sort of rational coherence of our beliefs with each other and with our experiences as those experiences are themselves represented in our belief system ... there are only the points of view of actual persons reflecting various interests and purposes that their description and theories subserve.

A coherence point of view is similar to the indigenous view in terms of what constitutes traditional knowledge. George Hobson (1992:2) writes that "Traditional knowledge is the accumulated knowledge and understanding" of indigenous people, "of the place of human beings in relation to the world in both an ecological and spiritual sense." Indigenous people are in possession of a rich supply of knowledge about their own physical being and how this relates to Mother Earth. Joseph Epes Brown (1992:21) states that "Interrelated with this knowledge, however, is the individual's inner world of belief and values, which give cohesion and direction to the society." (Brown 1992:21) For example, from prenatal stages to the journey after life as we know it on earth ceases, the Dakota people utilize

these beliefs and values to maintain a cognitive orientation that is spiritual in nature and is directed at healing in the holistic sense.

Part of the Dakota philosophy is to integrate this spiritually oriented knowledge with Western biomedically oriented theoretical frameworks. They believe that spiritual values are an important factor to all forms of healing because the whole of the universe is spiritual in nature. This kind of Dakota - Western intercultural cooperation is very much in need as Dianne Smyth (1994:66) has pointed out that Aboriginal people view Western health care centres as an inappropriate place to heal. She writes that [Aboriginal people] "view the hospital [as] a non-healing environment (as there is no spiritual connectedness)".

Before examining some key Aboriginal concepts pertaining to the sweat lodge ceremony, some key Western concepts are examined. These concepts are "coherent" with the scientific emphasis of Western culture, just as Aboriginal cultures have their own coherence. The intent here is not to criticize the basic tenants of Western culture, but to provide a basis for comparison with Dakota culture. Later in the thesis it will be argued that the Western and Dakota views are, in fact, drawing closer together as some of the basic tenets of Western culture are increasingly challenged.

Using a hermeneutic, dialogic approach, I hope to encourage this trend by making Dakota views more comprehensible to Western readers.

1) The Western View

Western Time

Leroy Little Bear (1986:243-259) of the Peigan Nation, suggests that the Western (occidental) view of time is "linear and singular". That is, everything is viewed as operating from time A to time B to time C to time D, etc., in a straight line.

> If we attempt to picture (the Western view of time) in our mind, we see something like a river flowing toward us and past us. What is behind is the past. What is immediately around us is the present. The future is upstream. This line of time is conceptualized as a quantity, especially as lengths made of units. A length of time is envisaged as a row of similar units. A logical and inherent concept of time is that once a unit of the river flows past, that particular unit never returns - it is gone forever. (Little Bear 1986 :244)

This way of viewing the world, as Little Bear states, opens up other conceptualizations such as "wasting time, buying up time, and being on time." These types of conceptualizations are unique and specific to Western societies. These units of time are also seen as being "different and independent of other units of time". This way of time conceptualizing lends itself efficiently to creating calendars which organize time into days, weeks, months, and years.

This kind of time conceptualizing also lends itself well to the scientific method in which "one goes from A to B to C to D to E, where B is the foundation for C, and C is the foundation for D, and on down the line" (Little Bear 1986:245). This allows for scientific paradigms which suggest that there are fundamental laws and structures which may be found by reversing the linear process and moving from E to its foundation in D, and moving from D to its foundation in C, and so on. In this way everything can be reduced to its basic constituents which in turn could explain the basic properties of all things in the universe.

In this context, Capra, Steindl-Rast and Matus (1991:xiii) write that "the metaphor of knowledge as building fundamental laws, fundamental principles" which become the "basic building blocks" of Western scientific conceptual frameworks "has been used in Western science and philosophy for thousands of years". A significant part of these scientific metaphors has been the idea that scientific descriptions were thought to be objective by nature and independent of the human observer. This is the correspondence view of the philosophy of science.

Hilary Putnam (1981:49) suggests that the correspondence view is the perspective of metaphysical realism. He writes that

> On this perspective, the world consists of some fixed totality of mind-independent objects.There is exactly one "true" and "complete"description of "the way the world is". Truth involves some sort of correspondence relations between words and ... external things. This perspective is the externalist's perspective, because its point of view is "a God's eye" point of view.

This is the scientific concept of reality. It is the idea that science reveals facts, which can be found by objective deductive methods, and that the facts disclose what the real world "out there" is like. Western biomedical paradigms follow this perspective.

The Body

The Western view of the human body is science oriented and is based on a biomedical model of the body which, in turn, "is based on a number of historical assumptions about the body and ways of knowing about the body" (Freund and McGuire 1991:74). Beginning with the Greek Hippocrates, about 400 B.C. medical students were taught "to treat only what was observable and palpable to the senses" (Scheper-Hughes and Lock 1987:6-14). In other words treat only what you can see and what you can touch. This orientation continued until the seventeenth century when Rene Descartes (1526-1650), a French philosopher, initiated the mind/body, natural/supernatural, real/unreal separation (Jones 1952:661-687).

The reason for separating body and mind was the need (due to

the political influence of the Catholic Church of the time) to keep tangible and intangible substances separated. The church viewed its task as the care of the soul which was intangible. Jones (1952:686) states that Descartes' point of view was that if body and mind "are metaphysically distinct substances, they cannot interact". Biomedicine would then concern itself with tangible, palpable objects (the body) which the church would approve of and the intangible substances (soul or spirit which were unobservable) would belong to the church (Scheper-Hughes 1987:9).

Erick Harth (1993:3) writes that a formalized separation between the physical and the mental was established. This "Cartesian cut"

> makes a sharp distinction not only between the bodily and mental self but between the 'I' and the 'it', that is between the sensing,feeling, and thinking human and [the] sensed, felt, and thought-about world at large.

Since then this Cartesian dualism has influenced Western conceptions of health, disease, illness and healing. Today's practitioners of Western oriented biomedicine (the allopaths) follow this materialistic conceptual thinking and view mind and body as separate entities which must be studied and treated separately (Freund and McGuire 1991:74). The Cartesian legacy conveniently applied a mechanistic conception (the machine model) to the human body and caused

the mind (or soul) to recede to the background (Scheper-Hughes and Lock 1987:9). Thus all illness, and therefore healing, must, according to this view, occur in the machine-like maintenance of the body. It was the allopath's job to "fix" the ailment. In today's terms it would be similar to the maintenance of a car to keep it in good running order. If a part is irreparable - replace it.

By use of this model the affliction was thought to be more easily diagnosable and therefore easier to fix. Over time this machine model became the dominant paradigm of scientific biomedicine. Singh Bolaria (1988:10-11) states

> ill health in this context means the break-down and malfunctioning of the machine (the human body) and treatment consists of surgical or mechanical intervention to restore normal functioning. While this clinical model attributes disease to "malfunctioning" of the human body,...normal functioning of the body can be restored through technological fixes.

Technological fixes could repair the body but the influence of the mind was thought to be of little, if any, significance to the healing process.

The Mind

However, with the move of mind from theology to psychiatry in the latter part of the nineteenth century, the mind came into existence as an entity worthy of research but in a way limited to psychiatry and later to psychology and, grudgingly, still later to sociology and anthropology.

Johnson-Laird (1988:14) points out that Descartes had stated that "you cannot doubt that you have a mind because the very act of doubting [which is a process of thinking and reasoning] calls for a mind." Unlike the machine-like nature of the human body, the mind was intangible and incorporeal and was an entity, of a sort, that "governed behaviour by way of a mysterious link from the immaterial to the material." (Johnson-Laird 1988:14)

Matthew H. Erdelyi (1985:ix) suggests that Sigmund Freud (1856-1939) built on this link by postulating a theory that he considered linked body and mind. He was very distinct in retaining a model that would adhere to the machine-like metaphor of the body in general. He thought that all psychological phenomena were multilayered with the ego as the mediating agent between internal instinctual energies (the id) and external sociocultural forces (the superego). According to Erdelyi, Freud emphasized the importance of the phenomena of the latent (the unobservable in-depth psychological) content and not necessarily the manifest (observable) content. Bock 1988:23-29 suggests that these ideas have been very influential in the social sciences including anthropology.

Nancy Scheper-Hughes and Margaret M. Lock (1987:19) write that even though Freud attempted a link between body and

mind there is still evident in

> psychoanalytically informed psychiatry and in psychosomatic medicine a tendency to categorize and treat human afflictions as if they were either wholly organic or wholly psychological in origin: "it" [meaning the affliction] is in the body, or "it" is in the mind.

Another theory that developed out of the continuing need for Western science to retain its mind-body separation was behaviorism. An influencing factor in the social sciences, it denied the existence of mind in its stimulus-response perspective. Instead it "adopted rat behaviour as the metaphor premise of social sciences" (Erdelyi 1985:110). Whatever the rat did humans could also do.

In other words, the lowly rat was probed, squeezed, operated on, electrocuted, and so on, all to aid in designing, developing, and expanding an air-tight theoretical foundation upon which the edifice of behaviorism could be built. The idea was that all humans behave in a Pavlovian type stimulus-response reaction. Because this type of behaviour is similar in all animals, it could be studied in animals, such as rats, for example, and generalized to humans. This idea was vigorously maintained by John B. Watson (1930:104) who stated

> Give me a dozen healthy infants, well formed, and my own specified world to bring them up in and I'll guarantee to take anyone at random and train him to become any type of specialist I might select - doctor, lawyer, artist, merchant, chief, and yes, even beggar-man and thief, regardless of his talents, penchants,

tendencies, abilities, variations, and race of his ancestors.

He thought humans could be trained like rats. In this perspective behaviorism espoused the mechanical model of the human body. Because mind was considered as separate from the body it was considered unrelated to the scientific study of behaviorism.

Arthur Koestler (1967) called this approach of analogizing rat behaviour to human behaviour as "ratomorphism". Fortunately, ratomorphism, was in turn rejected in favour of the human being as an information processing unit with a mind operating in a fashion similar to a computer. This metaphor "views activities which make up mental events as reflecting a flow of information" (Sanford 1985:1). This is the prevalent view of mind in current social sciences and is relative to the cognitive science approach.

The Mind - Body Relation in Perspective

Up to this point the emphasis has been on establishing a way of thinking and reasoning about body and mind that is strictly Western in orientation and nature. As stated above, the reason for this has been to establish a basis to which Dakota holistic thinking and reasoning may be compared. Then, by means of hermeneutic dialogue, similarities of Western and Dakota forms of knowledge in terms of healing and immune system activation will be

examined.

Western and Dakota discourses about what constitutes body and mind in relation to sickness and illness and how to alleviate these are very different. The Dakota method of transmission of this knowledge is also very different.

2) The Dakota View

The Dakota

Dakota is the generic name for an Aboriginal nation which inhabits the Great Plains and prairie areas of central North America. The Dakota, both historically and in contemporary times divide themselves politically along three dialects - D, L, and N. Each of these dialect groups are divided into ocheti sakowin - seven campfires (literally: ocheti - fireplace; sakowin - seven). The "D" people speak Dakota which is closest to the original Dakota language. The "L" people speak Lakota. They are the most numerous of all the Dakota. Least in population is the "N" dialect or Nakoda. All these Dakota people practice similar ceremonies and rituals. The focus of this paper is on the generic Dakota.

Dakota Holistic View

Stanley Krippner and Patrick Welch (1992:6) point out that practitioners of modern Western biomedicine "address themselves to a person's physical, mental, emotional, and

social problems but rarely to one's spiritual concerns." In contrast, the Dakota people believe that the whole of healing is spiritual. The term "spiritual" for the Dakota means that the spirit world is inextricably connected with the everyday world and the whole that is the universe. This is the "holistic" view and intrinsic within this is the cyclic view of time.

Aboriginal Time

Leroy Little Bear (1991:243-259), of the Peigan Nation, suggests that "Aboriginals think in terms of cyclicity". For the Dakota, like all Aboriginals, time is not a straight line. Rather, they see time like a circle. There is no beginning and there is no end. Time is now and operating to meet the needs of the people now. Not later but now. This does not mean that Aboriginals do not take into consideration the needs of the future. However, today is the day that one needs to deal with.

> Each day is not a new day, but the same day repeating itself. There is no need to give each day a different name. Only one name is needed: "day". This philosophy is a result of a direct relationship to the macrocosm. The sun is round; the moon is round; a day is a cycle (daylight followed by night); the seasons follow the same cycle year after year. (Little Bear 1986: 245)

Little Bear points out that cyclic thinking is holistic, and that Aboriginal people have a vested interest in maintaining such a conceptual framework. Especially in terms of consensual thought as it pertains to communal ownership of

land. For example, Little Bear states that the cyclical and holistic philosophy of most Aboriginal peoples can be seen readily in the property concepts in each society.

> Indian ownership of property, like Indians' way of relating to the world, is holistic. Land is communally owned; ownership rests not in any one individual, but rather belongs to the tribe as a whole, as an entity. The members of a tribe have an undivided interest in the land; everybody, as a whole, owns the whole. Furthermore, the land belongs not only to people resently living, but also to past generations and future generations, who are considered to be as much a part of the tribal entity as the present generation. In addition, the land belongs not only to human beings, but also to other livng things (the plants and animals and sometimes even the rocks); they, too, have an interest.

This kind of holistic thinking lends itself well to the Dakota point of view. There is no better Aboriginal expression of the term holistic than Black Elk's vision.

The Dakota's view, so vividly expressed by Black Elk, encompasses all elements that make up our universe. Each element is symbolized as a "hoop" or circle (although sphere or ball would be a better term) because the circle has no beginning and no end (Pepper and Henry 1991:45). Sometimes the term "medicine wheel" is used although it must be pointed out that many Dakota prefer not to use the term because it tends to romanticize the complexity of Dakota philosophy and thought. All these elements are contained within a larger hoop. For example, Black Elk (Neihardt 1972:36), a Lakota healer, stated

> I was standing on the highest mountain of them all and round about beneath me was the whole hoop of the world. And while I stood there I saw more than I can tell and I understood more than I saw; for I was seeing in a sacred manner the shape of all things in the spirit, and the shape of all shapes as they must live together like one being. And I saw the sacred hoop of my people as one of many hoops that made one circle, wide as day-light and as starlight.

A simplified interpretation of Black Elk's vision is that he saw everything from the perspective of the spirit; "for I was seeing everything in a sacred manner the shapes of all things in the spirit."

When a Dakota, or any Aboriginal for that matter, speaks of seeing something in a "sacred manner" they are alluding to the transformation from being in ordinary reality to being in the world of the spirits (or extraordinary reality). This transformation may be better addressed as moving from the left hemispheric mind's eye of the brain to the right hemisphere with its different perceptual processes. This idea is addressed further in chapter four - <u>"Ceremonial Spirit Evocation".</u>

Black Elk saw that everything within the hoop of the universe, "Wide as starlight," was interconnected, interrelated, interdependent and in dynamic interaction. To the Dakota, this dynamic interaction is what spirituality is all about. <u>Taku skan skan</u> means "that which causes everything to move" (Dooling 1984:xvii). <u>Taku wakan skan</u>

skan means "that sacred interaction which occurs when everything is in movement" (Gibson 1990). This means that the spiritual occurs when all hoops are in dynamic interdependent interaction in all parts of the system that make up the circle or whole.

Like the Jungian concept of the quaternity which psychologically points to the idea of wholeness (Sharp 1991:110) Black Elk's vision of the sacred circle also points to a wholeness in which the spirits gave him the power to see from the centre of that whole. The view from this centre was as if he was on the "highest mountain of all" and at that point his awareness or consciousness was tied into the spirit world which was "wide as daylight."

Bill Wilson (1976:14), the founder of Alcoholics Anonymous, also went through a similar experience. "I felt lifted up, as though the great clean wind of a mountain top blew through and through. God comes to most men gradually, but his impact on me was sudden and profound." God is similar to the Dakota concept of Wakan Tanka which is represented as a "Great Mystery" that can only be experienced through integrated wholeness.

Black Elk, as an old man, climbed Harney Peak in South Dakota with John Neihardt (1972:232-234) to pray for

forgiveness for not having done what Tunkashida (Grandfather) had offered. He prayed

> Wakan Tanka, Tunkashila, with running tears I must say now that the tree has never bloomed. A pitiful old man, you see me here, and I have fallen away and have done nothing. Here at the centre of the world, where you took me when I was young and taught me; here, old, I stand, and the tree is withered, Grandfather, my Grandfather!

Black Elk felt that he had not achieved the wholeness that was requested of him by Tunkashida. He was the "tree" but he did not bloom as the spirits had shown him. He felt he had left the red road, the path of light, and had instead followed the dark road that intersected the straight and narrow path - the Red Road. Neihardt (1972:232) writes that it was only as an aged Elder that Black Elk was able to see that "the good road and the road of difficulties you have made to cross; and where they cross, the place is holy".

Black Elk followed the Dakota teachings of seeking direction, guidance, knowledge, and wisdom. Seeking guidance through Tunkashida (God in the sense of the sage or grandfather) he gained knowledge such that this knowledge made him aware that the place where the dark road and the red road met was a place where "whole making" occurred and was, by this very nature, holy. In the Jungian sense this would be equivalent to the place where a psychological differentiation occurs leading to what Jung called

individuation. However, it must be pointed out that such places (the crossing of the red road by the dark road) occurs many times in an individual's lifetime. Pascal (1992:155) writes that the process of

> individuation actually begins from the moment of conception and stretches over an entire lifetime. There is no specific time or age for it.

Carl Jung (in Samuels, Shorter, and Plaut 1993:142) suggests that it is only after midlife that we begin to view the world differently. Those things that we saw as being important are no longer important. Jung calls this a "crisis" stage in which the ego of pre-midlife has to be subordinated to a higher power in the form of the "self" which is the regulating centre of the psyche.

This seeking of connectedness between ego and self is expressed in the "Calling song" which states that we must subordinate ourselves to Wakan Tanka (the great mystery). We pray only to Wakan Tanka because Wakan Tanka is tokahe (the first, before anything, sometimes defined as "first born").

The world of Wakan Tanka (sometimes called the world of Tunkashida [Grandfather] and Unci [Grandmother] by the Dakota) is similar to the Jungian concept of the collective unconscious (Ross 1989). The six sacred directions (the four directions of west, north, east, south, the above and

the below) are sometimes called the six Grandfathers. The six Grandfathers are symbolized as wiyohpayata (West), waziyata (North), wiyoheyapata (East), itokagata (South), mahpiyata (Sky), and unci makayata (Grandmother Earth). These six directions will be explained more fully in the chapter on the Inipi ceremony. These sacred directions are part of the components that make up the basic archaic, structural elements of the Dakota psyche. As such they are similar to the Jungian concept of archetypes or cognitive invariants which are "those constants [the primordial, structural elements] which in part determine our knowledge of reality" (Robinson 1992:39).

Black Elk's vision of the whole was composed of many hoops all in dynamic interdependent interaction, connected, and interrelated in such a way that each individual hoop was not separate from the others but was rather a part of the whcle. All elements of the whole such as plants, animals, fowl, insects, etc. had their own hoops and were related and interconnected in their collective dependence upon Mother Earth and Wakan Tanka for their very survival. In this respect Mother Earth was thought to be a living breathing organism with nurturing capabilities. These concepts of relatedness, connectedness and interdependence are given meaning by the Dakota expression "mitakuye oyasin - everything is related" (literally "all my relatives")

depending on the context in which it is used (Ross 1989).

Maintaining Balance

All these elements that make up the whole are maintained in balance or in a state of equilibrium (Pepper and Henry 1991:45). However, this equilibrium can be thrown off balance if one of the elements is negated, modified, removed, etc. This affects the body's immune system in ways that reduce its efficiency due to the stress factor which results from imbalance.

The idea of health as wholeness is prevalent in both Western and Dakota societies. Andrew Weil (1988:48) writes

> in an ideal whole, the components are not only all there, they are there in an arrangement of harmonious integration and balance. Balance is the other aspect of wholeness that enters into the meaning of health.

The Dakota, like other Aboriginal peoples, utilize the hoop, sacred circle, or a medicine wheel as a representative concept of the whole. The term medicine wheel is used by Weil in representing the Aboriginal holistic view of illness and health. He suggests that the medicine wheel of health and illness is maintained as an integrated whole in which all parts are important and that the whole is spiritually oriented. In contradistinction to this holistic view is Western culture's view of health as "a state of well-being of an organism or part of one, characterized by normal

function and untainted by disease" (Becker 1986: v.2, 1276). According to Becker's 1986 definition and Smyth's 1994 observation about the lack of spiritually oriented health care facilities it seems that Weil's concept of ideal health is far from the norm at the present time. In this context Smyth (1991:62) states that "legitimizing and utilizing [Aboriginal] knowledge and training ... would augment the effectiveness of health care in Canada".

To give meaning to the idea of wholeness, Western biomedical teaching has utilized the Greek concept of homeostasis (Selby and Luhmann 1989:1-2). This concept suggests that the body has a built-in mechanism which allows it "to maintain an internal equilibrium which enables all biological systems to function at an optimum level of health." Homeostasis is thought to operate in a way similar to a thermostat controlled heating system. In this kind of a system the temperature is controlled by a switch which either turns "off" the heat supply if too warm or turns "on" the heat supply if the temperature cools below the set temperature. This is called a closed system.

Despite similarities between Western and Dakota views on balance, the Dakota see not just the body maintaining itself in homeostasis but that all relationships internally and externally both micro and macro must be in balance. The

meaning of balance to the Dakota has to do with the whole of the circle operating in a "relatively stable condition, as a system, in which internal processes counteract any departure from the normal" (Ehrlich, et al 1980:312). The more stable the system the more the immune system can operate at its maximum potential and the more available it becomes as a source that can be tapped into in times of need.

Sometimes homeostasis is unable to maintain equilibrium. Western people initiate activities to bring the body back to order which is very similar to putting a machine back in order. Dakota people also begin activities but their focus is on returning to a state of balance within the circle or the whole. Illness, in both cultures, is an indication that the system's equilibrium is off-balance and in this respect is considered to be deviant from the norm (Cockerham 1989:148-151).

The Dakota, view the condition of illness as a manifestation of being "out-of-balance" with the whole. The ill individual is off-balance which in turn throws the hoop of the people out-of-balance and therefore an immediate return to centering is paramount. For example, the Ojibway, like the Dakota, stress that "each person's mental or spiritual state must be addressed" (Ross 1992:40) in an appropriate way before it is "right" to do anything. If this ethic of doing

things at the right time is not adhered to the intricately maintained ecological (which includes humans) balance will be detrimentally affected. To the Dakota the maintenance of a balanced relationship with people, nature, a higher power, and one's inner world is otokahe (primary). Sandner (1991:3) states that like the Dakota, the Navajo view of healing is

> not directed toward specific symptoms or bodily organs, but toward bringing the psyche into harmony with the whole gamut of natural and supernatural forces around it.

The Immune System.

The immune system plays a significant role in the concept of Western body homeostasis and the Dakota concept of balance. In the Western view the immune system switches to "on" as soon as the body loses equilibrium and thereby launches an all out effort to remove or eliminate the threat to the body's homeostasis or balance. In a similar way, the Dakota begin ceremonial and ritual activities to restore harmony whenever the circle goes off- balance.

It is generally known that stress generated through cognitive and emotional worrying can severely hamper the immune system thereby making its function ineffective (Selby and Luhmann 1989:2). Franz Alexander (Rossi 1986:10), an expert in psychosomatic medicine, pioneered studies in which he

> recognized that mental stress somehow interacted with the hypothalamus, which in turn stimulates the entire endocrine system via the pituitary and thyroid. The

hypothalamus was the bridge between psyche and soma.

The hypothalamus is located in the middle brain area under the thalamus. The hypothalamus is an important structure of the brain in that it controls "the autonomic nervous system, the endocrine system, and organizes behaviours related to the survival of the species" (Carlson 1988:85-86). The hypothalamic hormones have a controlling influence on the autonomic nervous system to the extent that "mind modulates the biochemical functions within the cells of all major organ systems and tissues of the body" (Rossi 1986:108). This statement is very important for this thesis because it specifically locates the relationship between mind and the healing aspect at the cellular level.

The Dakota emphasize that "balance" reduces stress factors. In this way stress is minimized which in turn keeps the immune system operating efficiently. Rossi (1986:13) states that

> Negative life circumstances and attitudes can lead to illness and death via the mind's modulation of the autonomic, endocrine, and immune systems. Sensitive physicians [and healers] have always known that the reverse is true as well, and wise observers in most cultures have recognized that a positive frame of mind can have a salutary effect in healing the gravest illness.

CHAPTER TWO.

Contemporary Trends In Anthropology

Introduction

This thesis does not pretend to review the very extensive literature pertaining to anthropological methodologies, Jungian philosophy and thought nor does it attempt to tap into the vast stores of indigenous knowledge that pertain to Dakota ceremony and healing. What the thesis will attempt to do is to present a contrast between the paradigms of normal science and the central Dakota healing methodology - the inipi ceremony. The reason for doing the thesis in this way is to point out some ideas that may be utilized to build a bridge between Western and Dakota paradigms as they relate to healing.

First and foremost anthropologists are scientists trained "to investigate, analyze, and interpret data from cultures different from their own". (Swartz 1994: 209) They study various methodologies based on the "rational" theoretical frameworks of normal science. Swartz further suggests that doing anthropology in this way often "unwittingly distort data which their informants reveal to them".

Anthropology has changed significantly from such paradigms as structuralism and functionalism, for example, which were heavily rooted in the conceptual frameworks of "normal

science". Young and Goulet point out that the old ways of doing anthropology, although useful in their time have been supplemented by newer and more holistic approaches. One of these approaches is the move from a paradigm which demanded a rigorously harsh and strict adherence to a methodology based on Western scientific logic to an approach that includes building "a kind of hermeneutic bridge" between two differing and perhaps even opposing world views.

Vast changes have also occurred in the sciences. The move has been from a mechanistic view to a more holistic one. This new paradigm emphasizes the whole more than the parts that make up the whole. The term ecological has been used to express this new paradigm.

The ecological view relates well to Dakota psychology as expressed in Black Elk's vision. When Black Elk (Neihardt 1972:36) was nine years of age he experienced a vision during the fever stage of an illness. He stated to Neihardt that he saw "the sacred hoop of my people was one of many hoops that made one circle." This is the idea of interconnectedness which along with the idea of sustainability are the two foundational concepts of the contemporary ecological view. All the hoops were interconnected in the circle or whole. The idea of

sustainability was also expressed in Black Elk's vision. He saw "the shape of all shapes as they must live together like one being" (Neihardt 1972:36) and that all beings (including humans) would be sustained by the recognition and emphasis of an ecological world view. This is the same view that Western science is moving towards.

Recently, there has been a move within anthropology to generate information and data that are more relevant to the experiential world that members of a culture are experiencing. Psychological anthropologists

> of recent generations have always expressed enormous sympathy with 'non-rational' modes of thought, with the 'supernatural' experiences of people around the world. (Young and Goulet 1994: back cover)

Anthropologist have involved themselves in these experiential practises of their informants and as a result have become changed people. For example, David Young, an anthropologist has completed four years of the Dakato Vision Quest at which I was the intercessor. After his second Vision Quest, he recounted an event that can only be described as an extraordinary experience. He and the pup-tent in which he was questing began to "rise like a rocket ship" (Young personal communication: 1993) and stopped at about bush height when he attempted to analyze the situation. He immediately fell to earth and landed with a thump. What was even more astonishing was that he actually

felt the pain as his rear end hit the earth! To his rational, scientifically oriented mind such a phenomenon was impossible. He had no way of relating to this kind of experience. Very few scientists have ever had an experience of this magnitude. The same may be said for Aboriginal peoples.

Attempting to make sense of such experiences requires a method which does justice to both Aboriginals and Western oriented scientists. Traditional anthropological methodologies such as structuralism and/or functionalism do not provide the appropriate common ground from which these types of experiences may be interpreted. Young and Goulet (1994) state these experiences are as real and authentic as any other. The appropriate method that does justice to this cross-cultural phemonena is hermeneutics.

Hermeneutics as a Dialogic Framework.

Hermeneutics is a method used in interpretations of texts. Texts include literature, textbooks, as well as interviews on audiotapes and videotapes. It is "the art and science of the interpretation of any authoritative document" (Winick 1975:256). Originally, hermeneutics was the tool most appropriate for biblical interpretations. The Bible, or parts thereof, were written in Hebrew on papyrus. At a later time this was translated into Greek and was rewritten

again on papyrus. This was then translated into Latin and from there into English as we know it today. According to Abercrombie et al (1984:100) these various translations and the fact that it was all handwritten introduced numerous errors, consequently "hermeneutics" referred to the problem of recovering the "authentic' version" of the biblical texts.

Hermeneutics began to be used as a method for interpreting any kind of a text from about the early eighteenth century. Not only interpreting the text itself, but also looking into the relationship between the author and the interpreter as well as between the author and his/her sociocultural and environmental relationships. The questions asked were: Where is the author coming from? What are or were the experiences of the author when he/she made the text?, and so on.

Wilhelm Dilthy (in Edwards, et al 1967:403-407; Abercrombie et al 1984:100) was influential in placing a focus on how the author is understood. His idea was that the interpreter (in our case the anthropologist) should place himself in the position of the author. Understanding is possible because both share a common denominator whether it be humanity, spirit, or culture. This is where the role of the anthropological participant-observer comes into importance.

By sharing in the experiences of the author the anthropologist is able to achieve a deeper understanding of the author's lived experience and thereby what the author is trying to say. For example, the vision quest can be truly understood only by participating in it. Then the anthropologist can more readily place himself in the position of the author. In this context Young and Goulet (1994) suggest that the authropologist becomes "changed" through his/her participation in the practices of the culture in question.

In a larger view, Dilthy sees hermeneutics as a perspective which would disregard the characteristics of individuals in favour of understanding human behaviour in relation to some wider whole which gives it meaning. Ceremony, for example, can be understood by reference to the ethos (lifeways) of the culture in which it is produced. The Sioux Sun Dance ceremony, for example, can be understood in relation to the ethos of the particular group which is conducting the ceremony. In attempting to engender the meanings of the ceremony it would have to be viewed as the collective intentional behaviour of the people that make up the community, perhaps as a revitalizing movement (Wallace 1966:209-215). As well, those others coming in from outside the community to participate must be viewed as intrinsically tied into these intentional behaviours because of the

aboriginal concept of connectedness, interrelatedness and interdependence.

Attempting to understand the Dakota vision quest or sundance from an informant's description presents opportunities for misinterpretation, and even misrepresentation. The anthropologist participating in Dakota ceremonies, for example, will have a far more in-depth view of what the people are <u>really doing.</u> The idea of sacrificing, for example, is seen in a new light, differing in many ways from the Judeo-Christian idea of sacrifice. Hermeneutics as an approach can be used most effectively <u>after</u> an individual has involved himself experientially in the eidos and ethos of the people with which he/she is working.

James J. Barrell, et al (1987:433) suggest that

> hermeneutics is an approach that emphasizes interpretations from one to the other apparently different and even seemingly opposing meaning systems. All systems have implicit meaning.

Any two systems can be comparatively interpreted back and forth from one to the other in a dialogic manner.

Hermeneutics may also be used as a method which would resolve some anthropological issues. For example, Melford Spiro (1987:6) writes that most social scientists are "focused on only one cultural variant - that of Western humankind" and their research is conducted from that

perspective. However anthropological scientists are aware that if anthropology is to rise above this kind of mediocrity, using a method such as hermeneutics is to their advantage. Western established conceptualizations, analysis and emphasis on scientific objectivity would be mitigated so that the Western mind would be able to comprehend what the Aboriginal mind is expressing.

Richard E. Palmer (1969:10) writes

> that hermeneutics is a voice we must hear and through hearing (rather than seeing) understand. Understanding of literature must be rooted in the more primal and encompassing modes of understanding that have to do with our very being in theworld. Understanding is not a scientific kind of knowing which flees away from existence into a world of concepts; it is an historical encounter which calls forth personal experience of beinghere in the world.

Hermeneutics with its ability to facilitate the exchange of ideas, can allow Western people to understand Aboriginal concepts which in turn will provide for a more realistic interpretation of what it is that Aboriginal people in general and the Dakota, in particular, are really saying about their version of reality. Young, Ingram and Swartz (1989:vii) suggest that although "no one can see reality through someone else's eyes," an anthropologist should make every attempt to understand emic reality.

Their specialized perspective and training places

anthropologists in an ideal position for utilizing hermeneutics as a method of research. Barrell, et al (1987:433) state that "in this process, we see the interconnection between things, not a truth", per se, but this process achieves a larger perspective that allows us to see, for example, the Dakota culture

> much clearer because we can see now from many different angles or vantage points. It is this larger perspective that would enable us to see our so-called problem in new ways. Therefore, assumptions can change resulting in either an obvious solution or the disappearance of the problem altogether.

The purpose of hermeneutic research is to provide contextual awareness and perspective.

Psychological Anthropology

Psychology and anthropology formulate areas of study and research that are peculiar to each. Psychology as the scientific study of mind and behaviour focuses most of its attention on the individual. This perspective utilizes the notion that there is a psychic unity of mind and as such "presupposes a central processing mechanism inherent in human beings which enables them to think, experience, act, and learn" (Shweder, 1991:4). Whereas psychology attempts to describe and explain this central processing mechanism, psychological anthropology concentrates upon other areas of study, for example, intentionality.

Psychological anthropology is a subfield of cultural

anthropology and as such concerns itself with cross-cultural comparisons, seeking similarities in the rich diversity of human culture, custom, and form (Chambers, 1985:3). Like cultural anthropology, psychological anthropology proposes a holistic understanding in all observations relating to cross-cultural investigations. To achieve this perspective, Philip K. Bock (1988) suggests that psychological anthropology use an interdisciplinary approach to the study of human behaviour. "Its development has been influenced by the interplay between anthropological problems and the psychological theories" which it utilizes in its investigations. Bock (1988:1) further states that

> Psychological anthropology comprises all anthropological investigations that make systematic use of psychological concepts and methods. The goal of such studies is to understand the relationship between individual and socio-cultural phenomena.

This perspective is suitable to this thesis for two reasons. The first is that psychology provides ideas, concepts, and methods that can be used to provide a more in-depth interpretation of the relationship between ceremony and immune system activation. Second, this perspective provides a means by which Shweder's (1991) ideas about intentionality may be utilized to explain, for example, the directedness of Dakota ceremonial and healing behaviours. My belief, at this stage of growth in anthropological studies and research, is that Shweder's idea of cultural psychology is

an important part of, but not separate from, psychological anthropology.

This thesis will use psychological ideas, concepts, and methods. The orientation is primarily that of analytic psychology. This school of psychology uses Jungian terminology and is therefore often referred to as "Jungian psychology".

Cultural Broker

Henry B. Woolf, et al,(1980:139) define a broker as "one who acts as an intermediary". Combining this definition with the concept of culture, a cultural broker may be understood as an agent who acts as an intermediary between two cultures, for example, between Western and Dakota cultures. Many anthropologists see themselves as some form of cultural broker. Erve Chambers (1985:26-35) suggests five different roles associated with cultural brokers: a) the representative role, b) the facilitator role, c) the informant role, d) the analyst role and e) the mediator role. Our focus for this thesis will be on the mediator role.

Chambers suggests that the mediator role is an outgrowth and improvement over "the representative and facilitator roles". Whereas the representative role focuses primarily on

representing the Aboriginal people to Government agencies and other bodies, and the facilitator role plays a significant part in assisting people in negotiations with the dominant society, the mediator role calls for a brokerage between cultures, or at least between the divergent values and distinct life opportunities of recognizable groups or constituencies of people. The roles of analyst and mediator are complementary in many respects, with mediation becoming an active manifestation of the analysts' research perspective.

The roles of analyst and mediator often becomes usefully blurred. Instead of the anthropologist utilizing a correspondence (or etic [the outsider's view]) perspective, the mediator role is ideal within a hermeneutic framework for cross-cultural comparative research. In this thesis, I will utilize the role of a cultural broker within the methods of hermeneutic interpretation. As part of this process, I will draw examples from Western scientific research findings. The purpose of these examples is not to "explain" Dakota concepts and practices, or to justify them, but simply to give the Western reader a "toehold" for understanding Dakota "reality." Such examples provide a "hermeneutic bridge".

CHAPTER THREE

Values, Ethics, Cognitive Orientation, and Shamans

Introduction

Anthropology has pointed out that humankind, from earliest evolutionary times, has designed and developed some type of a moral code out of the needs, values, and customs of each society. This moral code is the basis of the configuration that makes up culture. Here I am using Geertz's (1973:89) concept of culture. Like Geertz, I see culture as a dynamic process which changes as new innovations are being included. This culture configuration is transmitted generationally down to the young and constitutes one of the most important ways of pushing knowledge beyond the already acquired level.

Dorothy Lee (1959:60-61) writes of the Dakota custom of emphasizing through rites the necessity of relatedness as a primary method of instilling a sense of responsibility. It is a standard set by the Dakota culture. In her studies of what she terms the "Fighting Sioux" she points out that they

> see themselves as people who [are] related to every part and aspect of the universe, and whose deepest concern [is] to experience, understand, and enhance this universal relatedness at the cost of hardship, privation, and great pain [and] whose ideal [is] peace and harmony with all.

The term tiyospaye (big family) expresses for the Dakota the concept of extended relations. The idea of being related to all things in the universe is an accepted manner of thinking

characteristic of the Dakota as well as other Aboriginal people. Dorothy Lee (1959:1) writes that in this kind of cultural behaviour she sees "a system whereby the self is related to the universe - the relevant universe in each case". The relevant universe to the Dakota revolves around the tiyospaye which structures the way they interpret the world, including their views about health, illness, disease, and healing.

The individual's relationship to the whole can be symbolized as a series of circles spreading from a centre outwards much in the way a pebble dropped into a still pond causes waves to spread out from the initial contact point between the water and the pebble. The inner circle represents the individual. The next circle out represents the family and the third, the extended family. A fourth circle represents the community. The fifth circle is the people, for example, the Dakota. The concept of tiyospaye takes in all circles in a holistic way in which all things and beings are thought to be related. This idea of relatedness is the basis of the concept of tiyospaye (Medicine 1987:160) and includes all blood, marriage, and adopted members that are represented in all five circles. But there is more to the meaning of relatedness.

Pte San Win (White Buffalo Spirit Woman), the bringer of all

sacred ceremonies and the sacred moral code to our people, emphasized the idea of the relatedness to all of the universe as well as the connectedness and interdependence of all things. In this context, Lee (1959:1) refers to the Dakota Black Elk who saw "trees as having rights to the land, equal to his own". He saw them as "the standing peoples, in whom the winged ones built their lodges and reared their families". These winged ones too were related as were all animals, plants, and so on. The whole of the environment and all that is in it is considered related.

Basic Values

Any society that does not profess to any type of established religious mandate must nevertheless design and develop a way of conduct appropriate for the members of that society. Marie Sandoz (1961:53) writes that

> a society that has no locks can tolerate no thief; without paper or other easy record of man's word it can tolerate no liar, and no troublemaker if there is no jail, no prison. If in addition, there is no established creed, no organized priesthood, no one to say what must be believed, or to offer a refuge, then the members of that society must be given a strong sense of their inalienability from the things of the earth and the sky and all that lies between. Such a society must orient its young very early.

Charles Eastman (1911:28) points out that from the time of birth, the Dakota supposed that "the mother's spiritual influence counted for most". It was the mother who instilled in the child "a sense of brotherhood with all

creation". As the child grew, the mother continued to orient these basic values to everyday life. The first three consisted of "silence, love, and reverence and to these she later adds generosity, courage, and chastity". These basic values had been passed on to her from "the experience of her mother and grandmother, and the accepted rules of her people for a guide".

Dorothy Lee (1959:2) believes that these kinds of values are codified as that culture's version of reality. "There are different codifications of the same reality and different responses in terms of these codifications." But reality itself, she believes, "is infinite." Values exist in all cultures and are specific to each group. Each set of this codified reality (the value system) provides "a different glimpse of reality, and from a different starting point". Each culture sets the parameters for the value system that will be transmitted down the generations, thereby providing a "precategorized view of" reality based on and bounded by the value system of the culture.

As the child matures, these values (or value system) are expanded, modified, and then recodified according to appropriate cultural standards. At about age thirteen the individual enters another age grade. At this time the Dakota youth is initiated into adolescence by means of the

hanbleceya (crying for a vision), the vision quest. A hanbleceya is done basically to return a person to contact with Wakan Tanka. It is done for the purposes of improving and healing our relationship with all things in the universe. Establishing a conscious contact with the grandfathers of the four directions and our grandmother, the earth, as well as the spirit world above, keeps us in a state of humbleness. Humility is necessary to maintain a sense of spiritual values. The value system taught during his/her pre-adolescence points to and directs the youth to just such an event. This method of creating predispositional behaviours is called cognitive orientation (Hallowell 1976:258-315). By means of the hanbleceya, the youth is cognitively oriented toward achieving the aims and goals that the vision shows to the vision seeker.

The individual was not only taught a basic value system but was also taught how to incorporate that system into his/her generalized behaviors. Smythe (1994:62) writes that Aboriginal people in general (specifically Dakota for this thesis) "incorporate their own specific cultural ethics into their interpretations of everyday behaviors." However, Smythe also points out that the "ethics can be generalized throughout all of [Aboriginal] Canada."

Aboriginal Ethics

Ethics are moral principles and rules that are culturally designed to create a way that people can use for living together, coping with the environment, and are foundational for intentional behaviour. Smythe (1994:62) states that

> ethics provide guidance for proper cultural and individual behaviours. Ethics are used for organizing logic, they are instrumental in the design and development of cultural knowledge, including healing knowledge.

Rupert Ross (1992) points out five basic ethical principles pertaining to Aboriginal people. They are: a) the ethic of non-interference, b) the ethic that anger not be shown, c) the ethic regarding praise and gratitude, d) the conservation-withdrawal tactic, and e) the notion that the time must be right. There are many more but these five seem to be the dominant ones.

The most prevailing ethical principle throughout Aboriginal Canada (and the whole of the new world for that matter) according to Ross (1992) is the traditional moral commandment that confers virtually absolute freedom on everyone. This is the ethic of non-interference. Doctor Claire Brant, an Iroquois psychiatrist, (in Ross 1992:12-13) states that

> this principle essentially means that an Indian will never interfere in any way with the rights, privileges and activities of another person.

This ethic can be carried to the extreme as when Crazy Horse, an Oglala (Teton Sioux) chief, stated "If a dog lifts his leg to my lodge, I will not see it" (Sandoz 1961:48). One of the results of this ethic according to Ross (1992:19) is that "children raised by non-interfering parents become enormously loyal to them and to the entire [tiyospaye]". This loyalty has tremendous advantages for the survival of the tiyospaye in that men would fight ferociously in defense of it. The ethic of non-interference is about respect and honor. The freedom of the individual is placed above all else.

Anger is dangerous and may prove to be detrimental to the group. Ross (1992:29) writes,

> Restraint of anger was a survival tactic in what was, originally, a hostile environment, insofar as it facilitated cohesion of the family, tribe or clan.

Praise was not given freely "and vocal expressions of gratitude" (Ross 1992:34) were inappropriate. Appreciation, as far as gratitude was concerned, was expressed in a way which suggested what was being done should be continued. Generosity (sharing) was one of the basic values that the mother taught the child which had to do with the survival of the group. Today, sharing is done openly as in a give-away but more often sharing is carried on as giving of gifts without expecting anything in return.

Ross (1992) writes that the conservation-withdrawal principle was also a survival tactic.

> It involves an intentional slowing down to conserve both physical and psychic energy, and to carefully consider all aspects of the new situation before acting.

When children meet unfamiliar surroundings they tend to "retreat into positions of careful observations." Of course this is misinterpreted from the Western oriented person in that Western people think, for example, that one should answer immediately when spoken to, whereas the Dakota child would hesitate for a few seconds, putting together whatever facts were at his/her disposal.

The notion of doing things at the "right time" is a cultural principle that is still in evidence today, often to the detriment of the person. For example, in the morning, the thing that is "most important" must have priority over everything else. During a discussion with the psychologist T. Nelson (personal communication), he mentioned that while conducting research in the Fort Chippewyan area, he noticed the ethic of doing things at the right time in evidence every day. An example he gave had to do with an individual who had to get his truck in good operating condition (his family may require the use of it while he was away) before he could go to town to attend court. He arrived at the courthouse late but at a time that he thought would be

convenient to the court and himself. Of course the court system, operating under the concept of efficiency, must have all court appearances "on time" which was the "right time" to them. The two concepts of time clashed, with a hefty fine to pay in the process.

Doing things at the right time, along with the ethic of non-interference, seems to be the over-riding moral code to most Dakota people. For example, Western educational methods suggest a child should begin attending school at six years of age, whereas Dakota people "allow" the child to "be ready" from the child's perspective before the parents allow children to attend school. This is misinterpreted from the Western side. For example, Social Workers question parents as to the reason why the child is not attending school. The questioning is often resolutely and determinedly pursued to the extent that the parents become confused and end up agreeing to the suggestions that the child should be psychologically tested. The parents are following Aboriginal ethics, particularly the integrated results of the ethic of non-interference and the notion of doing things at the right time, and "allowing" the child to make up his/her own mind. The Social Worker is operating under the dominant moral code which suggests that children must attend school at age six or be sufficiently ill to excuse the child.

These ethical principles are augmented by other principles. For example, the ethics of maintaining balance and harmony. Smythe (1994:62) writes that "individuals balance themselves so as to ensure harmony in the group as a whole". Harmony within the culture was important for survival of a small group that encountered a stark and harsh environment in which survival depended on the interconnectedness and interdependence of all members of the group.

These ethics, operating in a holistic configuration, tend to influence Dakota people in their relationships. As well, this configuration pertains to all Aboriginal people in general. There are different behavioural features that become evident in communication patterns between Aboriginal and Western peoples. These differences often provide misunderstandings and therefore misinterpretations of what it is that is <u>really</u> going on. As there are many factors pertaining to communication patterns, I will only discuss the most obvious ones.

As previously stated, the ethic of non-interference seems to be the most prevailing principle evident in the thinking of all Aboriginal peoples. This principle plays a significant role in how communication is to be conducted. For example, Dakota people are apt to be silent at the start of any kind of conversation. The ethic of non-interference tends to

"allow" time for the other to gather thoughts before communicating. The Dakota is showing respect, and the sign he/she is using to indicate respect is the ethic of non-interference.

The Western person, on the other hand, seems to indicate a hurriedness to get the conversation started. He/she is unable to interpret the sign of respect, the ethic of non-interference that the Dakota is attempting to convey, because that ethic does not exist in Western culture. Often both make horrible blunders in terms of respecting and honoring the other. From the Western side, this has to do with the concept of maintaining verbal manipulation in order to achieve success. Dakota people, on the other hand, maintain the idea of consensus as being important in any discussion. Therefore the point of view of the non-Dakota is important just as the Dakota's view is important. Thus for the Dakota, waiting for the "'right time" before starting a conversation is the appropriate way of behaving.

Western people also have a tendency to give advice whether or not it is requested. They tend to defend this position because they believe in the Judeo-Christian ethic of "do unto others as you would have them do unto you", in the sense of being a "brother's keeper." Dakota people on the other hand do not give advice due to the fact that advice

giving would give the impression of attempting to "best" someone. Besting someone means trying to give the impression that one is, for example, "directly demonstrating superior knowledge" (Ross 1992:25). The idea is to maintain humbleness in the sense of not placing another person in a position in which he/she would be bested.

Maintaining this kind of an attitude means using all of the ethics in a holistic configuration. Aboriginal people assume that this kind of a moral code for behaviour is learned at one time or another in all Aboriginal cultures.

Mnemonics

The process by which ethics are encoded for easy retrieval is accomplished by use of mnemonic devices. These are triggering elements that assist in memory recall. These mnemonic devices are designed to tie intrinsically into the encoding process. The idea is to encode some means within the vast flow of sensory input which would provide the trigger for recalling specific areas of encoded information. This is because "as far as the brain is concerned, variations in the flow (of input) are the events of the day" (Somjen, 1972:7). The mnemonic device is the ideal tool to tie into these variations of events.

Somjen (1972:7) points out that

> sensory nerves do not articulate symbols which 'stands for' items such as objects or ideas [such as those of Aboriginal or Native ethics] but rather what speaks to the brain is the continuous streaming of a finely grained, kaleidoscopic, precisely coherent, forever restless cataract of nerve activity.

Somjen's suggestion relates well to the request by Aboriginal people for an emic and coherent perspective in their education. Rather than encoding everything in a linear sequential mode, Aboriginal Elders, though they are not familiar with scientific theories relating to the encoding process, are aware that a more holistic encoding process is a must because of the Aboriginal idea of the relatedness of everything in the universe. Western linear encoding removes what is seen as "chaotic" encoding (Somjen 1972) which is another term for holistic coherent encoding.

When Dakota students attend advanced educational institutions "all too often it is the indigenous researcher who is taught the scientific method and forced to adapt his/her (cognitive style) or cultural reality to that model" (Johnson, 1992:4). The student must try to adapt the linear encoding mode within the general Aboriginal holistic and coherent encoding process. This attempt to adapt to the Western way of encoding causes a great deal of frustration, dismay, and consternation for the Aboriginal student.

Dakota Mnemonic Encoding

Encoding a mnemonic device along with the general encoding

process enables the withdrawal of information at any point. For example, Wumpum belts were such devices. Pamela Colorado (1990:23) states

> these are beaded belts made out of shells, and they are a couple of thousand years old. They are mnemonic devices, used to trigger your mind, and they're memorized; people who read those belts are trained from early on to be able to do it.

These wumpum belts indicated such things as 'tiyospaye' and kinship networks. Some of the beadworks are also historical texts. The way the Dakota beadwork is read is interesting. The historical facts and dates are memorized along with mnemonic devices attached at specific places to assist in memory recall. In this way our oral history is encoded along with all the events that are occurring at the time plus the mnemonics. The mnemonics then help to recover (or retrieve) specific memories from the rich stream of encoded historical material.

David G. Myers (1986:251, 655) defines mnemonics as "memory aids, especially those techniques that employ vivid imagery and devices for organization".He points out that the ancient Greeks perfected a method whereby lengthy passages of information and speeches could be recalled very easily. What they did was walk through the countryside stopping at certain predominant points memorizing certain passages and speeches at these spots. Myers (1986:251) writes that they imagined themselves moving through familiar series of

locations, associating each place with a visual representation of the to-be-remembered topic. Then, when speaking, the orator would revisit each location (in his mind) and retrieve the associated image.

The Dakota also utilize specific geographic areas as mnemonic devices. For example, as a young child I was shown over and over the spot where vision quests had been conducted. Stories relating to vision quests were told to me. When I went for my vision quest I was predisposed to receiving a vision. Charley Gibson (personal communication 1990), a Dakota elder, stated that all ceremony and ritual are cultural devices that are utilized for placing a person in a predispositionary state for receiving visionary experiences. I believe what Charley is saying is that cultural practices are mnemonic devices to assist memory retrieval in line with a person's cognitive orientation concerning associated values and experiences.

Cognitive Orientation

From earliest childhood to adult, the Dakota emphasize a system of values which is taught as a moral code. Basic values are first taught which when incorporated into the daily lifestyle of the band or tribe become Dakota ethics which are similar to ethics practised by other Aboriginal cultures. These ethics predispose Dakota people towards a

"spiritual" way of life. A. Irving Hallowell (1976) states that

> all cultures provide a cognitive orientation toward a world in which (humankind) is compelled to act. A constituted world view is created, which, by means of belief, available knowledge and language, mediates personal adjustment to the world through such psychological processes as perceiving, recognizing, conceiving, judging, and reasoning. It is a blueprint for a meaningful interpretation of objects and events, which, intimately associated with a normative orientation, becomes a basis for reflection, decision, and action. A psychological 'field'... is defined, and a foundation provided for a consensus with respect to goals and values. The motivations and satisfactions of individuals can be directed towards traditionally defined ends, while there is also scope for variations in the interpretation of the meaning of particular events, the choice of modes of action, and the achievement of individual goals consonant with the value system.

Charles Eastman (1911:88) writes that the Dakota mind is being constructed from early childhood to be sensitive to the concerns of tiyospaye and tribe. Eastman is talking about the constituted world view of the Dakota as it is modified, producing necessary changes as required for individual and collective survival. If the individual survives the tribe will survive because culture is carried in the head as acquired knowledge. Ethics as normative influences on behaviour are utilized "for organizing logic and are instrumental in the design and development of cultural knowledge" (Smythe 1994:62) both from the perspective of the one in need of healing and the one who provides the healing.

Shamans

Archie (Lame Deer) Fire and Richard Erdoes (1992:150-161) write about several different types of what anthropologists call shamans. The term shaman is rarely, if ever, used by the Dakota. A term frequently used when talking to an outsider is "Medicine Man/Woman". Many Dakota prefer not to use this term for themselves (because it rings of romanticism) but there are a few who do. Medicine is pejuta and man is wicasa (sometimes wichasha). This is person is a herbalist, one who is familiar (an expert) in herbal healing. For example, my wife Joanne has studied herbal healing for over twenty years but she does not call herself a pejuta winyan (medicine woman) although her Dakota name is Pejuta Waste Win which means "a woman who is very competent with herbal medicine". Charley Gibson, Walter Noel, Charley Wise Spirit, Frank Fools Crow, and many other Dakota wicasa wakan (holy man) use the term "healer" which seems to be more appropriate for this day and age although Archie Fire (Fire and Erdoes 1992:150) prefers "spiritual man/woman".

There are various ways of becoming a healer. Marie Sandoz (1961:55) writes that

> now and then, a young (Dakota), usually the son of a holy man, worked to become one, too, one of the modest, listening kind, often with true psychological, religious, and philosophical insight.

According to Charley Gibson (personal communication 1990), a

wicasa wakan is a man "who has dealt with his own feelings of jealousy, envy, resentment, and anger" in a way that will not interfere with his counselling and ceremonial practises. These types of holy people work to understand the "inner enemy". He said, "These were the four horsemen of the Dakota apocalypse, the four great curses of the Dakota". Frank Fools Crow (in Mails 1991:198) also states that "jealousy and alcoholism are the greatest curses for the Indian people". To be a holy man, according to Walter Noel, is to do what is required of the seven sacred ceremonies as given by Pte San Win (White Buffalo Calf Woman).

Marie Sandoz (1961:55) continues that "perhaps the young man preferred to be a pejuta wicasa, "Who uses the power of herbs to cure the sick" (Fire and Erdoes 1992:151). Today many Dakota as well as other Aboriginal people, attend herbal colleges and universities to study - many graduating with diplomas and degrees. These people integrate Western herbal knowledge with traditional indigenous herbal knowledge, thereby becoming more effective in their healing.

Another type is the yuwipi "(tied-up one) who works with the power of Inyan, the rock" (Fire and Erdoes 1992:151). The ceremony they perform is sometimes called "spirit calling". This is the person to whom those who have lost something or

someone (i.e. lost child, runaway, disappeared person, etc.) go to. For example, Allen C. Ross (1989) relates the story of Dawson Has No Horses who was a holy man who also performed yuwipi ceremonies. Dawson was approached by some people who had lost their relatives. It seems they just disappeared; perhaps their airplane may have crashed. Dawson said he would try. He performed the yuwipi ceremony in which he "saw" the tail end of an airplane in a swampy area of North Dakota. He gave them the approximate for a search and found that the aircraft had indeed crashed. This is what the yuwipi man does. Dawson Has No Horses finds things and the power to do that comes from Inyan.

Another type of spiritual man is the waayatan (seer or prophet). This person, is one who can "see into the future and who predicts what will come to pass" (Fire and Erdoes 1992:151). For example, Floyd Hand (Gilbert 1995:64) predicted the death of Miracle's father from a blood clot in its belly. Miracle is the name given to a White Buffalo Calf born on August 20, 1994 at Janesville, Wisconsin. Gilbert writes

> In early September ... the white buffalo's father suddenly became ill. Dave Heider, [the ranch owner] phoned Floyd. He told Heider that nothing could be done. He said "a black blockage" would cause the bull to die in three days. Three days later, the bull died of a blood clot in the stomach.

The predictions of the waayatan are astonishingly true. They can predict a human death which is usually the death of an old personality and the rebirth of a more spiritually oriented personality but sometimes it is a real death.

There is also the heyoka. The sacred clown who does things backwards. The heyoka's power comes from Wakinyan (the Thunder spirit) which appears to him/her in a dream or a vision. According to Charley Gibson (personal communication 1990), "Heyokas are teachers" because they can see both sides of everything. As well they have the trickster power of turning everything around so that people see things or become aware of things they never knew existed. Heyokas are also aware when others are playing the trickster role. Gibson (personal communication 1990) says that "Heyokas are usually very wise and that is why they know how to make people laugh."

There is also the wapiya, a conjurer or a magician. He/she like all things in the Dakota world, has a double aspect. "With his/her positive nature he/she heals the sick; while in his/her negative aspect, he/she is "the bone keeper", the evil witch doctor who puts sickness into you" (Fire and Erdoes 1992:151). He/she does this by pointing a bone at someone and thereby placing a curse.

Fire and Erdoes also include the roadman of the Native American Church who uses peyote as a sacrament. The roadman is a male who conducts the ceremony. The female assumes a complementary assistant role.

Smythe (1994:62) writes that "healers are either chosen by Elders for their aptitudes and abilities, or inherit the position, or may have had a 'called' experience." Elders keep a close eye on those children who seem to have been gifted with special "aptitudes and abilities." These children are steered towards specific aims and goals which lean towards one of the previously discussed spiritual person roles. They are cognitively oriented to becoming a specific type of healer. Elders who become aware of a child's aptitudes and abilities will often give to the initiate their ceremony as well as the ceremonial regalia required for the role. For example, Charley Gibson gave his inipi ceremony to me.

A called experience usually occur spontaneously. Perhaps during a hanblecheya, a Sun Dance, an inipi ceremony, or during sleep. A called experience can be easily misinterpreted and are therefore studied intensely by an Elder before interpretation is given. This is in recognition of the fact that many people wish to be healers although they have no aptitudes or abilities for such a

role. For this reason Elders are very careful about the selection of a healer.

Although the term shaman is usually rejected by most Dakota spiritual people I find the term appropriate when discussing healing from a Western anthropological perspective. A shaman may be defined as a person who is able to enter an alternative state of consciousness through which special esoteric knowledge is transmitted. This is shamanic consciousness (Harner 1980:xvi-xx, 26-50, 59-72). Moving into this form of consciousness, for example, during an inipi ceremony allows the person to manipulate the vast amounts of energy that are evoked from the four directions as well as the above and the below. The ceremony leader must know what he is doing in order to control these movements of energy.

Charles Eastman (1911:76) wrote that charlatans began conducting practices in which they portrayed themselves as medicine men/women but were actually conjurers who dealt in magic and sleight-of-hand tricksterism. They are the ones who seek payment for something they promise but cannot give.

> When the idea of payment and barter was introduced among us, and valuable presents or fees began to be demanded for treating the sick, the ensuing greed and rivalry led to many demoralizing practises, and in time to the rise of the modern "conjurer", who is generally a fraud and trickster of the grossest kind.

Many of the ceremonies that the conjurer performs are symbolic of death and resurrection, somewhat in the Christian sense. Eastman abhorred these kinds of exhibitionism as most spiritual men do. The misunderstanding and therefore the misrepresentation of such things held as "sacred" by the healer lead the conjurer to include them under the rubric of "mystery or magic." Another example, is the influence of Christian concepts of "good and evil" which the conjurer calls "good and bad medicine". For example, George Callingbull (personal communication 1984) from the Stony Plain Cree Nation said that "pretenders" (his term for charlatans) use the idea of bad medicine to instill fear in a person for control purposes.

Distinguishing between the sincere healer/spiritual person man and the conjurer/sorcerer is at times difficult especially for the uninitiated. Elders suggest that everyone be aware of the cognitive orientations of those who are healers/spiritual people and those others who profess to be such. Recent studies in antisocial personality disorders suggest a basis for the conjuror kind of behaviour. Ken Magid and Carole McKelvey (1987:3-26) express concern that these con artists "express no remorse if caught in wrongdoings. They are aggressive, reckless and cruel to others. They leave in their wake a huge amount of human

suffering". They are sometimes called "trust bandits" for they steal our trust and then use it against the very people who trusted them.

The Elders' admonition about a sense of awareness is of primary importance. For example, my wife and I have been teaching both the negative and positive aspects of cultural awareness. Some Aboriginal people have begun to question what is occurring in the general community in terms of healers and conjurers. Although it was not our intent, many people of Aboriginal descent wanted to find out more about conjurer types of behaviors than of the regular healer. This was because many had been conned into paying horrendous amounts of money for what they thought was a magic-like form of healing. The true healer operates in the world of realistic expectancies. He/she conducts diagnostic procedures and a briefing before a healing ceremony such as the inipi.

The cognitive orientation of the Dakota individual selected to be a healer is further enhanced by apprenticing with an Elder or a healer. I have worked with various Elders and healers for a number of years. Frank Fools Crow, a maternal grandfather along with his uncle, the famous Black Elk, came to the Sioux Valley Pow-wow when I was nine years of age and suggested to my parents that unka (grandfather) Albert

(Bert) Chaske begin telling me about oral history pertaining to our tiyospaye and the creation myths of the Dakota as well as the Cheyenne historical movements. His point was that some Cheyenne had married into our tiyospaye and therefore the Cheyenne were also to be considered as Dakota. He was the first holy man to suggest to others that he thought I had certain kinds of abilities. This is the Dakota custom of confirming through an Elder's approval that a person be accepted as a potential healer. He and my maternal grandfather Harry Wambli Ho Waste (Eagle Good Voice) used to take me into the inipi when I was very young. Unca Bert's son Cecil, later put me on the hill for my first hanbdicheya at the age of thirteen. From that first hanbdecheya I was made aware of how to manipulate the energies that are evoked in an inipi, for example.

Conclusion

Hallowell (1976:258-259) writes that "the cognitive orientation of any culture provides a basis for an understanding of disease, illness, and healing". Hallowell quotes Ackerknecht who wrote that illnesses are "one of the fundamental, vital problems which face every society, and every known society develops methods to deal with (illness), and thus creates a medicine". The Dakota cognitive orientation creates a "medicine" which is healing oriented and focuses around sacred ceremonies and language.

CHAPTER FOUR

Ceremonial Spirit Invocation

Introduction

There are a variety of ceremonies utilized by the Dakota to initiate and maintain the healing process. Each ceremony is conducted in its own specific way to achieve its aim - healing. However, most healing ceremonies are conducted with the lights extinguished (Lewis 1974:94). Charley Gibson (personal communication) states that the maintenance of darkness allows the spirits to enter with their healing power.

Drums, songs and rattles are used to decrease attention and thereby initiating "spirit" activity. With respect to this type of an..ation, Lex (1974:818-823) points out that the lowering of the threshold of analytic judgement (dimming of attention) encourages susceptibility to suggestion. The powers of suggestion are known to be a principle force for healing in all cultures. But, where do the spirits come from? Walter Noel (personal communication 1987), a Dakota iyeska (interpreter) of Dakota culture and Charley Gibson (personal communication 1990), a Lakota wicasa wakan, when questioned about this, referred to the activation of the "spirit world" by raising their right arms and waving thier hands by their right ears.

The Jungian oriented explanation of the spirit world that I am comfortable with is that spirits exist as archetypal principles (the Dakota idea of Grandfathers and Grandmothers) within the collective unconscious (the Grandfather's and Grandmother's world). Spirit activity then has to with the energizing of archetypes which according to Samuels, et al. (1993:26) are patterns of psychic activity realized as cultural expectations through the practise of traditions. Archetypes appear on their own as part of the energizing process of that part of our brain (the right hemisphere) that remains, to a certain extent, silent and dormant.

The brain is divided into two hemispheres literally creating two distinct brains in one head (Krebs and Blackman 1988:118-119). The right hemisphere has specializations such as holistic thought, ability to see the bigger picture quickly, dancing, singing (chanting), spatial properties, instinct, and so on (Ross 1989:11-25). Blakeslee (1986:31-34) states that dreams are also an important aspect of the right hemisphere which represents the unconscious side of our personalities. Dakota Elders also teach that visions come from the spirit world, the world of the Grandfathers and Grandmothers.

Frank Fool's Crow (Mails 1991:103-114) states that he goes

into the world of "the spirits" for as much as two days. During this time he remains unconscious or in a trance state in the spirit lodge (or initi). He is in shamanic consciousness and receives healing knowledge from the power of the "spirit of light" that constitutes the spirit world. In a similar vein, Jeanne Achterberg (1985:11) writes that Thomas Largewhiskers, a 100-year-old Navaho medicine man stated

> I don't know what you learned from books, but the most important thing I learned from my grandfathers is that there is a part of the mind that we don't really know about and it is that part that is the most important in whether we become sick or remain well.

From the viewpoint of Jungian psychology, I see both Fools Crow and Largewhiskers as speaking about the the collective unconscious. Samuels, Shorter, and Plaut (1993:156) state that the collective unconscious is composed of images, symbols, and fantasies. The collective unconscious originates as part of the

> inherited structure of the brain. Its manifestations appear in culture as universal motifs with their own degree of attraction. (Samuels, Shorter, and Plaut 1993:156)

The left hemisphere's specializations, on the other hand are such functions as linear thinking, seeking logic in everything, time orientation, speech, writing, reading, and so on (Ross 1989:11-25; Gazzaniga 1985). The left hemisphere is the conscious side of our personality due to

its ability to produce language (Blakeslee 1986:6) and is thought to be dominant because it seems to exhibit control over both hemispheres (Myers 1986:44). In fact these left brain specializations are so dominant that some method must be utilized to lessen dominance and thereby to activate and maximize the right hemisphere's connection to the immune system.

Vision is one of the most specialized of the adaptive processes. It provides the organism with the richest information from the senses. Much of the way that humans organize reality comes from vision. Because vision is so powerful the Dakota healer decreases and minimizes its effect by conducting all ceremonies in the dark. Blakeslee (1986:52) states that much of thought is visually oriented.

In a similar vein Arnheim (1969:v) presents a thesis in which he argues that "visual perception is a cognitive activity". He suggests that all thinking is not only visually oriented but that the visual process itself exhibits mechanisms that are typical of reasoning. "Our perceptual response to the world is the basic means by which we structure events, and from which we derive ideas and therefore language" (Arnheim 1969: back cover). Blakeslee's and Arnheim's arguments indicate that some method must be utilized to minimize the power of the visual to cognitive

and the cognitive to visual processes. Minimizing this aspect of visual thinking, according to the Dakota, allows for other processes that had been inhibited by the power of visual thought to become energized and to express themselves.

Singing (Chanting)

As previously mentioned, the left hemisphere's specializations are predominantly linear and sequential modes of cognitive processing. It attempts to organize thought into a logical sequence of time-oriented linear units or events. This type of logic exists in all cultures; to a smaller extent in some cultures (i.e. Dakota peoples) and to a far greater extent in others (i.e. Western societies). Linear thinking utilizes words and logic and "excels at the kind of one-step-at-a-time logical sequences that are the basis of language" (Blakeslee 1986:9). It is also the basis for time orientation.

Part of the Dakota healing process is communication which has to do with, among other things, language and speech. Broca's area, the language/speech producing centre, is thought to be located in the left hemisphere (Carlson 1988:406). However, Julian Jaynes (1976:100-125) suggests "that the neurological structure necessary for language exists in the right hemisphere as well as the left". This

area seems to have developed as an auxillary speech area in response to a function which seems to have been lost by Western societies but still retained by non-Western societies such as the Dakota people. Jaynes suggests that the left hemisphere developed in unison with the development of complexity in language, speech, and writing. The right hemisphere also developed language/speech neurologic structures but because of left hemispheric dominance these structures developed and are utilized in a different way. "Language of [humans] was involved with only one hemisphere [the left hemisphere] in order to leave the other [the right hemisphere] free for the language of the Gods" (Jaynes 1976:104). We Dakota call this the language of the spirit people which includes the Grandfathers and Grandmothers.

Communications from the spirit people emanates from the right language/speech neurologic structures and are communicated to the left by means of the anterior commissures. Jaynes (1976:104-105) states that in humans

> a transverse band of fibres collects from most of the temporal lobe cortex but particularly the middle gyrus of the temporal lobe included in Wernicke's area, and then squeezes into a tract slightly more than one eighth of an inch in diameter as it plunges over the amygdala across the top of the hypothalamus toward the other [the right] temporal lobe. Here then, I suggest, is the tiny bridge across which came the directions...where Gods [spirits] spoke to [humans] and were obeyed.

Inipi Method

The inipi is conducted inside an initi. Ini means to "to give life" in the sense of regeneration and/or rejuvenation; ti means "lodge". Thus the initi is the lodge in which people are regenerated and/or rejuvenated and the initi is the ceremony that does it. The initi is constructed with twelve or sixteen willows or cherry tree saplings stuck into the ground in a circle about seven or more feet in diameter. A hole about eighteen or more inches deep and about two feet in diameter is dug in the centre. The saplings are bent and tied together to form a dome about four or more feet in height at the centre. The saplings are covered with blankets, tarpaulins, or anything else that can be used to create darkness. There are two entrances; one facing east, the other west. Some initis have only one entrance. Blankets are usually used to cover the entrances. Sage, sweetgrass, or cedar are sometimes placed on the floor of the initi for the participants to sit on. Contemporary initis often use a carpet especially during the winter months. Sheets or blankets are placed on the carpet to absorb the water from the steam.

The inipi ceremony uses both left and right hemispheres in a complementary way to effect healing in a more efficient manner. When the flap of the initi is closed, the inipi leader suggests that everyone pray not verbally but silently

in their minds. Prayer is a left hemispheric activity in that prayer is language. As the participants pray the left brain is very active and maintains its controlling stance. Once the inipi leader (sometimes called an intercessor) thinks the people are sufficiently tied into the functions of the left hemisphere (the prayer), water is poured on the rocks. As the hissing sound is heard the participants immediately STOP praying. The left hemisphere is forced to stop its activity because its use of language has ceased. At this point the participants are expected to mentally move into a meditative stage which Charley Gibson (personal communication 1990) calls the "no-thought stage". The participants are kept in the meditative stage for a few seconds during which a visionary experience may occur. The inipi leader (or another person who has been given the role of lead singer for the ceremony) now begins to chant and sing. If the participants have not yet had a vision the song may induce one.

The whole sequence consists of four stages beginning with prayer and ending with the song which constitutes one song (there are four songs per round and four rounds per ceremony). See Figure 1 below. In some inipi ceremonies one or two songs are sung before the flap is opened. I have attended a ceremony in which the flap remained closed and several songs were song before it was reopened.

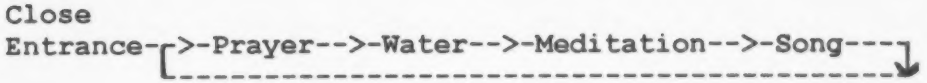

Figure 1. Stages during one inipi song.

Charley Gibson (personal communication 1990) states that "prayer is the door to awareness". Prayer opens the door for spiritual illumination to enter. Often the Dakota prayer begins "Wakan Tanka unsimaya ye" (Wakan Tanka pity me - or in contemporary terms - Wakan Tanka have compassion for me). This humbling of self is the preparation for the nurturing powers of the grandfathers/ grandmothers to enter, which occurs when the water is sprinkled on the rocks. This is called a water offfering for the grandfathers and grandmothers to drink. They in turn "breathe" the powers (the steam) from the spirit world at us and into us. The breath of the grandfathers/grandmothers is the instrument by which healing is induced. The short meditation period, which Charley calls the "no-thought" stage, while still under the influence of the breath of the grandfathers/grandmothers, activates the visionary process. A song is then sung which creates resonance between the linguistic areas of the right and left hemisphere further aiding in the visionary process. Walter Noel (personal communication 1987) stated that Dakota chanting is very similar to the aum mantra of Buddhism. He thought that Dakota singing and chanting, like the Buddhist mantra,

"causes a type of resonance to occur" which predisposed the individual to "an in-depth meditative stage". Once the song is finished the inipi leader once again initiates prayer and the previously mentioned sequence continues.

Inipi Dowanpi

Dowanpi means "singing" or "songs" depending on context. In this thesis inipi dowanpi means songs used in our inipi. The song used in the first round is the "Calling Song". In this song we emphasize our dependence on Wakan Tanka. We place Wakan Tanka first in our lives and we beseech Wakan Tanka to give our relatives new life. In other words to rejuvenate our relatives. The following is the song used in the first round and some phonetics for easier pronunciation.

The Calling Song

1.	WAKAN TANKA (Wah-kawn Tohn-kah)	The Great Mystery
	TOKAHE (Toe-Kah-hay-ay)	First One
	WACE WAKE DO (wah-chay wah-kay doe)	I sit here crying (lamenting)
	HA-YA HA-YOW.	
2.	WAKAN TANKA	
	TOKAHE	
	WACE WAKE DO	
	HA-YA HA-YOW.	

3.	MITAKUYE (me-talk-oo-yay)	My relatives
	OB WANIKTA (o wah-knee ktaw)	Let them all live.
	CA (chaw)	That is why
	CE WAKE DO (chay wah-kay doe)	I sit here praying (lamenting)
	HA-YA HA-YO.	

The east flap is now opened to let the light in and to cool off the initi. The opening of the flap is primarily the symbolic letting in of the "spirit of light"' which brings illumination and/or awareness. After a short period the west entrance is opened thereby indicating the symbolic connecting link between consciousness as represented by the east entrance and the west entrance which opens into the direction of the setting of the light. Just as the sun reaches its zenith then begins to move towards setting, the ceremony places us in the centre, our zenith, from where we are to follow our individual paths on the collective red road which eventually leads to the setting of our lives on Mother Earth to return to the Spirit World from where we came.

Water and special herb teas are passed around. The story of Wohpe Win (Falling Star Woman) is told. Charley Gibson (personal communication 1990) as well as Walter Noel

(personal communication 1987) related that for one reason or another many inipis forget to tell this very important story as part of the ceremony. This story is told in various different ways depending on who is telling the story. The important thing is that the story of Wohpe Win and the story of White Buffalo Calf Woman relate the significance of the coming of the Sacred Pipe. Archie Fire Lame Deer and Richard Erdoes (1992:204) write

> at first, the people did not know how to live. They were like the beasts in the field. They had no beliefs to cling to. Then 'Wohpe' reinvented herself as White Buffalo Calf Woman and descended from the sky [Mahpiya] as a link from the ones above to the ones below, and she brought the people the Sacred Pipe and the Seven Sacred Rites, and made them brothers to the buffalo.

White Buffalo Calf Woman, currently is more often referred to as the "White Bison Spirit Woman".

Charley Gibson usually tells a similar story. Where Fire and Erdoes call the link of the above and below Wohpe, Gibson calls it Wohpe Win. Wohpe is sometimes translated as comet (Adams 1990:168). Sometimes Wohpe is used to refer to a falling star as Gibson does. He adds Win indicating a feminine aspect to the phenomenon. The following three verses are Charley Gibson's (personal communication 1990) version. The last verse is the renderings of Robert Orduna (Personal communication 1990) which he was to attach as a poem for one his paintings.

The Story of Wohpe win

The spirit people were concerned about the chaos and confusion with the human population on Ina Maka (Mother Earth). The spirit council met and discussed how they could help the humans. They decided to ask the women what measures they should take. The women contacted Kanka (wise old woman) for advice. She said, "Send a messenger with a gift". But what gift? The women met with the council and by consensus they decided to give the most sacred of their possessions their chanupa, the Sacred Pipe.

The women decided they would send their most spiritually oriented girl to deliver the gift. Her name was Wohpe Win (Falling Star Woman). They took her aside and taught her all the ceremonial practices that the humans would need for survival.

The council approached Kangitoka Ska (White Crow) and asked for assistance to escort Wohpe from the spirit world into the human world. Kangitoka Ska was the only one who knew how to negotiate the tricky passage through the cusp separating the two worlds. Kangitoka Ska agreed. The council and the women took Wohpe Win close to the cusp and waited for Kangitoka Ska to come and guide her out. Finally Kangitoka Ska arrived and flew in through the secret passage of the cusp to escort Wohpe Win. (Charley Gibson 1990)

She moved through the cool blue light of the spirit world towards the beckoning heat of transformation. Wohpe Win holds her hand out to White Crow. "Falling Star", he whispers, "the time has come." He has come to guide her through the darkening cusp between Spirit and Earth. They merge their sacred medicines under the gaze of the tree of life. The time has come for White Crow to return the sun to the heavens and burn his being into Black Crow. The time has come for Wohpe Win to bring Turtle Island and the sacred rites of the Plains cultures to the Earth. The Ancient Ones will call her White Buffalo Calf Woman (Orduno 1990).

This story is told in our inipi between the first and second rounds and emphasizes the key role of women (or the female element) in Dakota culture. It was the woman who approached the archetypal old wise woman (Kanka) as only woman can.

The archetypal woman in this story is what anthropologists call a "mana" personality. The term is Melanasian in origin and "pertains to the extraordinary and compelling supernatural power which emanates from certain individuals, objects, actions, and events as well as from inhabitants of the spirit world" (Samuels, Shocter, and Plant 1993:89).

The inipi leader also points out that basic moral values are taught by women. This was discussed above in an earlier chapter. Also, according to Charley Gibson, Calvin Pompana, Gerald Morgan, etc., the appearance of a white crow as the guide for Wohpe Win who becomes Pte San Win (White Buffalo Spirit Woman) is important and is emphasized by the inipi leader. Many Dakota, even some Elders, have forgotten or were not taught this story.

The white crow (or raven) is said to appear shortly before the birth of a white buffalo calf. This white crow is the messenger which portends the coming of the calf. A female white buffalo calf was born August 20, 1994. Prior to that, about August 12, a white raven was video-taped in lower British Columbia near Vancouver and was shown on all television networks but no one knew what the white raven signified. To many it was just an odd phenomenon. For those of us who knew the significance of the event, we prayed and gave thanks in a special inipi ceremony conducted

for that event.

Thus, these stories are important. For without them the significance of our ceremonies will fade away. As it is, many Elders such as Charley Gibson, Mel Paul from Paul Band in Alberta, my father George Pompana, and so on were surprised that some people attempt to conduct inipi ceremonies without a Sacred Pipe. As Charley Gibson (Personal communication, 1990) stated, "they are not inipis, they are saunas. To have an inipi the Sacred Pipe must be present."

The second round begins once the story is finished and new rocks are brought into the initi. The second round is identical to the first round, except for the song. The song used for this round is the "Directions Song". This song addresses the six directions. This is a song of evocation in which the powers of the six directions are beseeched to provide their special blessings for us. As in the first round song, the words and the phonetics are provided below.

Directions Song

WIOHPEYATA TAKUYE
(We-oh-pay-yah-tah tah-koo-yah)

HECIYA T AN
(hay-chee yah tay-hawn)

MI TUNKASHIDA
(me toe-kahn-she-da)

AHITOWA YAKE DO
(ah-he-tow-wahn yahn-kay doe)

HA-YA-HA-YOW

CE KIYA YO
(chay kee-yah yoe)

CE KIYA YO
(chay kee-yah yoe)

AHITOWA YAKE DO
(ah-he-tow-wahn yahn-kay doe)

HA-YOW-HA-YO.

This verse says - "Our relative (Tunkashida) over there where the sun goes down (the West) is waiting for us to call. Go to Tunkashida in prayer and he will bring spiritual healing". The other five verses are identical except for the direction word. In this verse the direction word is wiohpeyata (ver there where the sun goes down - West). In the second verse the direction word wiohpeyata is changed to waziyata (over there towards the land of cold and pine trees - north). The third verse is wiyoheyapata (over there where the daylight comes from - East). The fourth is itokagata (over there in the place of creation - south). The fifth is mahpiyato (where the sky spirits are or the above), and the sixth is unci makayata (Grandmother Earth or the below).

The phonetics for the new words are:

WAZIYATA - (wah-zee-yah-tah) - North
WIYOHEYAPATA - (we-yo-he-yum-pah-tah) - East
ITOKAGATA - (ee-toe-kah-gah-tah) - South
MAHPIYATO - (mah-pee-yah-toe) - The Sky Spirits

UNCI MAKAYATA - (oon-chee mah-kah-yah-tah)
Grandmother Earth

The story of the coming of the pipe is told between rounds two and three. In round two the powers of the six grandfathers have been invoked and the power is now present in the 'initi'. These powers become connected to our prayers and beseechment and the whole of the universe is now with us. The rocks are the symbolic representation of all invoked Grandfathers and Grandmothers. Now all that is required is the coming of the pipe as the catalyzing agent which causes all things, all beings, all spirits, all fowl, all animals, and all humans to become connected at the centre.

The Coming of the Sacred Pipe

The Sacred Pipe was common to all the Plains tribes. However, each tribe has its own religious tradition which gives a unique meaning to the Sacred Pipe. Of these the best known tradition is the Lakota myth of the Woman bringing the Buffalo Calf Pipe as Black Elk related it to Joseph Epes Brown in the late 1940's on the Pine Ridge Reservation.

In a time of famine, two hunters saw a beautiful woman coming from a distance. One hunter, who had evil desires towards her, was reduced to a skeleton. The woman told the other hunter to prepare the people for her return. A lodge was made from several tipis and the people were all excited. Suddenly she appeared, entered the lodge, presented Chief Standing Hollow Horn with a Pipe and told him that their prayers through the Pipe would always be answered and that seven religious ceremonies (sweat lodge, vision quest, making of relatives, keeping of the soul, girl's puberty rite, the sundance, and the throwing of the ball rite) would be given them.

What is regarded as the original Calf Pipe is kept at Green Grass on the Cheyenne River Reservation in South Dakota. There has been a continuous line of keepers,

> the present one being Orval Looking Horse, who is in his [forties].
>
> Green Grass has become a place of pilgrimage. Medicine men and Indian activists from many tribes have been going there. An impressive Sun Dance is held there every year, drawing from many tribes. Green Grass is the center of the Lakota religious world and becoming more pan-Indian. (Steinmetz 1984:11-12)

In round three, the spirit that brought the Sacred Pipe is invoked through "The Pipe Song".

The Pipe Song

KODA, DECED ICUN WO,
(Koe-dah, deh-ched ee-choon wo)

KODA, DECED ICUN WO,

KODA, DECED ICUN WO,
HA-YA HA-YOW.

HE CANUNPA
(Hay chaw-noom-pah)

TAKU YACIN KA KI
(Tah-koo yah-cheen kah kee)

HECITU KTE DO
(Heh-che-too ktay doe)

HA-YA HA-YOW.

OB COKAYA WANJI,
(O choe-kah-yah wahn-jee)

UHA INUNPA KTE DO
(you-ha ee-noom-pah ktay doe)

MI IKTU IYO
(me eek-too ee-yoe)

POWAGE KTE DO
(Paw-wah-gay ktay doe)

HA-YA HA-YOW.

HI CANUNKI
(Hi chaw-noong-kee)

MI TUNKASHIDA
(me toe-kahn-she-dah)

WANIYA KTE DO
(wah-knee-yah ktay doe)

HA-YOW HA-YO.

The translation is - "Friend, do the ceremony in this way. When you smoke the pipe this way, whatever you ask for you will get (implied in this is - be careful what you pray for). Where you smoke the pipe is the centre. So fill the pipe and smoke it together. When you do this the Grandfathers and Grandmothers will bring spiritual healing".

The flap is opened, the pipes are handed in, the symbolic gesture of the coming of the Sacred Pipe. The pipe has arrived as it did ages ago. While the pipes are being smoked, the inipi leader talks about the importance of the seven sacred ceremonies in summary form. The pipes are kept in the initi for the last round. As the chanupa is smoked, we think about certain people that need help of one kind or another. We pray for these people as the song states "when you smoke that pipe, whatever you ask for, you will get".

During the last round the leader asks for special prayers from everyone. A small pail and dipper are passed around so

everyone can place water on the rocks as an offering to the Grandfathers and Grandmothers. Tobacco was brought in at the beginning of the inipi and placed in front of the participants at the edge of the centre hole. This tobacco is also placed on the rocks as an offering. Tobacco pouches that were made at home, at work, or wherever, are now mentioned in these prayers. A tobacco pouch is made by cutting a piece of broadcloth about two by two inches. A few grains of tobacco are placed in the cloth and tied. The tobacco is the symbolic carrier of the prayers. These tobacco pouches are tied together and hung just above the hole before the start of the first round. The song for this round is called wopidapi dowanpi (they are singing their gratitude). This dowanpi has often been called the "Happy Song" by the participants of our inipi ceremonies

Gratitude Song

1. TOKIYA, YAUN
(Toe-kee-yah yah-oon)

HA YOW HA YOW.

2. TOKIYA YAUN
(Toe-kee-yah yah-oon)

HE WOPIDA KTE DO
(Hay woe-pee-dah ktay doe)

3. CEYA SNI YAUN
(chay-yah shnee yah-oon-oon)

WACIN DO
(wah-cheen doe)

HA YA HA YOW.

The translation for this song is as follows:

> Wherever you are, whatever you do, you are to give thanks instead of feeling sorry for yourself.

This song is very old and Charley Gibson (personal communication 1990) states that he remembers my paternal grandfather singing this song. As of March, 1995 Charley Gibson turned ninety years of age.

The spirits often spoke to the participants of an inipi or sweat lodge ceremony. The inipi is utilized primarily for purification and healing purposes and has become "the" pan-Indian ceremony. The inipi ceremony, in most cases, is conducted in absolute darkness. An exception is during vision seeking when an absolutely dark inipi is not required.

Tunkan and Heat

As previously stated above, the rocks are representations of the Grandfathers and Grnadmothers, our archetypal ancestors. The rocks are called tunka (stone or rock) but with a special significance. According to Gibson (personal communication 1990), tunka means grandfather stone and is also unchi (grandmother). The rocks are heated in a special fire called peta owihankeshni (never ending fire). Once the rocks are red hot, they are passed into the initi. Some

inipis start with six or seven stones. Six representing the six directions, and seven representing the seven bands that make up each of the dialect groups as well as the seven sacred ceremonies. In the inipi that I conduct we use sixteen rocks for the first round. Each rock represents one of the sixteen great mysteries that make up Wakan Tanka. We use six rocks in the second round, one for each direction, and we use seven rocks in the third round one for each of the seven sacred ceremonies. We use four rocks or whatever is left for the final round. Sometimes the inipi leader may use a rock for each of the participants.

The sixteen rocks in the first round provide dry heat causing a dry sweat. Many participants are apprehensive because "inipis are often frightening, so the important things are getting rid of fear" (Smythe 1994:65). To Black Elk (Brown 1971:31-43), the inipi ceremony was frightening because of "the steam that comes from the rocks, within which is the fire." The good part is that the steam purifies us, tunes us into Wakan Tanka's will, and "if we become very pure...he may even send us a vision." (Brown 1971:31)

Jeanne Achterberg (1985:33-34) writes that "there is a biochemical component of high body temperatures during fevers that reflects the natural reaction to toxins, and is

related to the immune system in action. The artificially induced high temperatures may mimic or induce this activity." Healers view this immune system activation as the power of the spirits to induce healing. Thus the rise in intense heat is viewed by Dakota people as very significant to healing. Achterberg has observed that young and old Aboriginals didn't share her concern about the intense heat when she first attended inipi ceremonies.

Conclusion

The inipi ceremony has four primary effects:

- it is a means of initiating and maintaining spiritual connections
- it is a vehicle for inducing an altered state of consciousness during which an extraordinary experience may occur (Smyth 1994:63)
- it is an instrument (a tool) for boosting and maintaing the immune system to operate at optimal efficiency
- it is an easy way of assisting the body to release toxins

Inipi ceremonies have been used by Herman Essoi of Sioux Valley, Manitoba, Charley Gibson of Sisseton, South Dakota, Rufus Goodstriker of Blood Reserve, Alberta, and many others for healing various forms of cancer. We have begun to utilize our inipi in this direction with surprising success.

One of our participants is healing from cancer (tumors). Achterberg (1985:34) points out that "the growth of tumors may also be inhibited when core body temperature is significantly elevated." She writes that research conducted by Dr. Seymour Levitt at University Hospital at Minneapolis, is using heat at levels of 100 degrees Fahrenheit to destroy cancer cells. She states that they have been quite successful in killing cancer cells. She points out that the intense heat also predisposes the surviving cancer cells towards a vulnerability to other treatment modalities such as radiation and/or chemotherapy.

Achterberg (1985:34) also suggests that the Dakota idea of raising the internal body temperature by applying intense heat on the outside of the body such as during an inipi ceremony is of significant healing value. She states that the intense heat excites "the chemicals that increase the levels of circulating norepinephrine and epinephrine, and subsequently cellular metabolism" (Achterberg 1985:35).

CHAPTER FIVE.

Conclusion And Epilogue

Conclusion

The intent of this thesis was to elaborate on the psychospritual dimensions of Indigenous healing and immune system activation. As the thesis was written from the perspective of psychological anthropology, psychological methods and concepts were utilized.

Indigenous healing like all types of healing attempts to initiate the immune system to operate at peak efficiency. Historically, traditional Aboriginal healers were not aware that the immune system was being activated or enhanced. What they did know was that conducting inipi ceremonies combined with tried and proven herbal remedies along with a holistically oriented lifestyle more often than not proved beneficial. Modern scientific research such as that conducted at the University Hospital at Minneapolis, the Psoriasis Research Project of the Department of Anthropology, University of Alberta, and so on, corroborate much of Aboriginal healing techniques. These techniques are catalysts that start the immune system towards the healing process.

Many healers are also alert for depression. They are aware

that depression is usually a symptom of a deeper underlying cause that may relate to some kind of a physical illness, like cancer or diabetes, etc. Depression is a system shut-down, so the healer must keep the individual in a cognitive state such that the individual begins to overcome the depression. The inipi ceremony does just that! The collective praying, meditating, and singing give the patient a feeling of being a part of something tangible even though the spirits are intangible. Healing begins.

Maintaining a balanced lifestyle augments the healing process. Attending 'inipis' every week for the first four months keeps the immune system functioning at optimum peak. Attending other ceremonies (such as Sun Dances, Pipe Ceremonies, etc.) assists in the maintenance of the immune system at peak performance capability. Singing and chanting are right hemisphere activities which keeps the patient tuned into the healing process. For this reason some Elders pass out tapes of songs used in the inipi. The individual can listen to the songs at home and maintain a positive attitude toward healing as well as learning the songs. This gives the inipi participant an opportunity to share in the collective singing of the various songs utilized for the ceremony.

Krippner and Welch (1992:15) write that "sickness and

injuries are universal experiences, but each sociocultural group implicitly or explicitly classifies them as to cause and cure". Dakota people have utilized in their ceremonies for centuries a form of science that is just as logical as any other healing system. This is a cognitive orientation towards the inipi ceremony as a healing agent and focuses attention on the healing aspects of the inipi ceremonies. This cognitive orientation becomes, in the words of Joseph Henderson (1984:17), the "social attitude [which is primarily] concerned with maintaining the ethical code of the culture". This social attitude is in turn tied into "the formative nature for certain archetypal patterns emerging from the collective unconscious". In Dakota culture the individual is taught the necessity of maintaining communication with the Grandfathers and Grandmothers. Henderson (1984:13) states that it is

> an attitude of mind based on an experience of transcendental reality, the reality of the psyche. With this goes an attitude that acknowledges the presence of autonomous [spirits] within, in other words archetypal contents to which the ego itself is subordinate and must pay heed.

These archetypal contents express themselves in various symbolic ways and are invoked ceremonially. According to the Dakota view the invoking of these spirits are considered to be crucial in diagnosing and designing a treatment program. Thus the inipi ceremony plays a significant role in this process. In this way the inipi ceremony has become

the "pan-Aboriginal" healing method in North American "Indian country".

Epilogue

As previously stated, I had difficulty finding material for this thesis. The material I needed had to be from Aboriginal scholarly works pertaining to the inipi ceremony. The reason for this focus is because the inipi ceremony is fast becoming the "pan-Aboriginal" healing methodology from both Western and Aboriginal perspectives.

As my research progressed I became ill. I tried to analyze this illness reaction from my own perspective as a healer. But the answers I sought in a Western form of self-analysis were sorely lacking. Realizing this, I requested aid, insight, and assistance from the Grandfathers and Grandmothers during inipi ceremonies. The answer was quick and devastating. During the summer (August 12, 1994), I was bitten/stung by an insect in the lower right abdominal area. The venom was found to be similar to that of the Black Widow spider. But how was this possible? This is Alberta!

I talked to Mel Paul, a Stoney Elder, who suggested that I may have been bitten by Iktomi (spider) - the Dakota cultural hero who brought culture, language, and change to the Dakota people. He further suggested that I look at what

I was doing. My father, George Pompana, also a well known Elder, related a story that suggested how people can move into becoming Iktomi without realizing it. During the fever stage after the sting, I had a dream in which I was standing and teaching in front of a class. Only it wasn't me. I had light colored hair, light skin, and blue eyes. I woke up with the thought that I was trying to be somebody else. The Stoney Elder and my father were right!

So I discarded my research, which had been conducted as a Western oriented structural/functionalist anthropologist studying the Sioux inipi ceremony utilizing the theoretical framework of psychoanalytic anthropology, and began a hermeneutical interpretation as a Dakota anthropologist. The change in approach was a result of the vision and having taken a course in Symbolic and Cognitive Analysis at the Department of Anthropology. I found this methodology more appropriate for this study. This thesis was entirely rewritten from that perspective.

Mitakuye oyasin. (All is related)
Hetchetu welo. (That is the way it is)

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